

**INSIDE: MULRONEY AND THE PARIS SUMMIT**

# Maclean's

FEBRUARY 24, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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## THE PERSUADERS



**How Ottawa  
lobbyists  
influence  
the nation**



08



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### A long-awaited summit

Officials of Transphone governments—including three from Canada—convened at a Paris summit for the first time to discuss the future of la Francophonie. —Page 22



### The Power establishment

Montreal millionaire Paul Desmarais, a master of the reserve takeover, is grooming his sons, Paul Jr. and Andre, to take control of Montreal-based Power Corp. —Page 45

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

FEBRUARY 24, 1994 VOL. 10 NO. 8

## COVER

### The parliamentary persuaders

The shadowy image of the cigar-smoking political lobbyist has given way to a new breed—high-powered executives with strategic connections in the federal government. Some are using their persuasive powers to affect the contentious under way in Ottawa which may result in legislation requiring lobbying firms to list their clients—and their fees. —Page 34

(Cover photo by John Sheppard for Maclean's)



### Counting bullets and bodies

And increasing charges of fraud, the Philippines assembly issued a final report on the Feb. 7 presidential vote in the post-election death toll rose. —Page 38



### Princess Di's protégée

Sarah Ferguson, the British beauty who may marry Prince Andrew, is getting advice from close friend Diana, Princess of Wales, on how to handle the press. —Page 37

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## A new view of the Bible

One of the world's leading authorities on Middle Eastern history and the author of more than 40 books, Hugh J. Schonfeld was among the first scholars to evaluate the Dead Sea Scrolls after their discovery in Israel in 1947. The 76-year-old British scholar, who now lives in London, published *The Paganist War* in 1983, based on his study of the Scrolls. The book was a best-selling and controversial study in which Schonfeld, a Jew, argued that Jesus was actually a devout Jew who had accepted the message of messiah and stressed his messiahism to Jewish messianic prophecies. Schonfeld has again become the focus of controversy with the recent publication of *The Original New Testament*, a new translation. Schonfeld, who has spent his life promoting greater understanding between Christians and Jews, claims that the book is a "radical re-interpretation" of original documents. *Maclean's* correspondent Morton Rato recently interviewed him in New York.

**Maclean's:** How did Christianity,

which began as a Jewish messianic movement, become a separate religion?

**Schonfeld:** A few years after the time of Jesus the Jews were involved in a war with the Romans which virtually wiped the country out. This prevented the original teachings of Jesus from persisting, because his original followers

*'I am a man of faith. If I didn't believe there was a God I should be despairing of the world. But I'm not in the least'*

were in Palestine, were either killed or had to flee the country. The only thing that went on was the message about Jesus, which had gone out to other countries before the war. Consequently, the information had to be adapted to the religious background and ideas of the countries to which the message was brought. The four gospels actually

represented four different areas of the Mediterranean: the Roman Empire, Mark, for instance, was written in Rome; Matthew in Egypt; Luke in Greece and John in Asia Minor.

**Maclean's:** What were the major non-Jewish features of the new religion?

**Schonfeld:** The doctrine of the deity of Jesus was the essential one, because this was the current doctrine in the Roman Empire. The Emperor was the son of Jupiter, who was the son of God. So was the King of Egypt, the son of Ra, the sun god. It was customary in those days for kings to be worshipped as deities. Another feature was the doctrine of the Trinity. But the main feature of Christianity was that it was never intended to be a religion at all. There was never any idea that he would figure in the lives of a new religion.

**Maclean's:** Were there any features that we might term anti-Semitic?

**Schonfeld:** Yes. This was because there was a great deal of anti-Semitism among the Greeks, and in the Roman Empire there was rivalry between them and the Hebrews. Consequently, the teaching that the Greek Church put upon the New Testament documents was necessarily anti-Semitic. This is reflected in the Gospel of St. John, with hints of it in other gospels. But the anti-Semitism is reflected

chiefly, of course, in the suggestion that the Jewish people were responsible for the execution, which is quite untrue and against the historical circumstances.

**Maclean's:** What do you mean when you say that your Original New Testament is the first to be based on individual rather than theological grounds?

**Schonfeld:** Other translations have been made by theologians and not historians. A historian has to take a lot of factors into account, which the theologian does not. The theologian makes what he considers a straightforward translation of the texts as they stand. But what he might do is to go into all the countries from which different sections of the New Testament emanated and study the New Testament in light of the external literature of the period and the customs, circumstances and ideas of the period. The theologian doesn't do this, however. The Word of God is somehow isolated from its own time and circumstances.

**Maclean's:** How do the content and organization of your translation differ from others?

**Schonfeld:** What other translations fail to do is put things in chronological order. For example, they put Paul's Letters in the Roman kind, but this was really a much later epistle than was put first simply to dignify Rome



Schonfeld: greater illumination

You can't get the real story of Paul's activities if you don't put his Letters in chronological order. Similarly the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, which are two parts of one document, have traditionally been divided by putting the Gospel of John in between them. No historian would do such a thing. Another difference in my translation is that in my notes and explanations, as well as in the translation itself, I've been able for the first time to use other Jewish sources and prophecies of the period.

**Maclean's:** What do you expect the reaction to your New Testament will be?

**Schonfeld:** That's difficult to say. But I can tell you that only the other day I was on a television program with a very conservative Christian theologian. He turned to me at the end of the show and said, "I found your translation a very great help indeed—thank you for it." So the fact is that by giving the Christian world their sacred books in their original content and sense, I have provided Christians a means of gaining greater illumination.

**Maclean's:** Are you a hopeful man?

**Schonfeld:** Very. I'm a man of faith. If I wasn't, and didn't believe there was a God and that our destiny is allied with Him, I should be very despairing of the world situation. But I'm not in the least.



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Manion in his Berkeley sandwich shop discussed and evaluated by colleagues

## FOLLOW-UP

# Challenging Freud

The theory sparked outrage and bitterness—and its publication slightly curtailed a flamboyant scholar's controversial career. In 2001 Toronto-trained psychoanalyst Jeffrey Manion began to unveil his thesis that many of Sigmund Freud's findings were false. Manion based his startling conclusions on three years of research while he was projects director of the personal archives of the father of psychoanalysis in Washington, D.C. He sifted through rarely seen records and personal letters describing how Freud developed, and later abandoned, his revolutionary theory that childhood sexual abuse caused adult neuroses. But psychoanalysts around the world were so outraged by Manion's conclusions that they immediately dismissed them, and he was ostracized by his colleagues. Today, still shunned but writing two books, the 46-year-old Manion is a partner in a small sandwich shop in Berkeley, Calif. Said the embittered scholar: "For most analysis, I am the number 1 enemy."

To the Freudian establishment, Manion's contention was tantamount to heresy. His controversial book—*The Assault on Freud: Freud's Suppression of the Seduction Theory*—was published in 1994 and translated into 19 languages. Manion argued that Freud had bowed to pressure from his contemporaries who could not accept his actual theory that adult neuroses

were raised by childhood sex abuse, including incest. In its place, Manion wrote, Freud substituted a theory that neuroses were caused by an inner fantasy life. Manion claimed that Freud then constructed many of his famous psychoanalytic theories on a faulty foundation. These theories include the Oedipus complex, in which a child is sexually interested in the parent of the opposite sex, and infantile sexuality, the progression of a child's unconscious sexual growth. When he first announced his findings, Manion told interviewers that he believed they would spark a sweeping re-evaluation of psychoanalytic practices. He said: "They would have to recall every patient since 1900. It would be like the [Purd] Post."

But the re-examination that Manion called for never took place. Instead, his critics angrily dismissed his findings. When his book appeared, reviewers generally faulted Manion for what they termed poor scholarship and grandiose claims. Paul Rensner, a Freud biographer and political scientist at Toronto's York University, for one, declared: "What Manion is saying is so murky there is nothing to select." The ensuing controversy received wide attention—including a lengthy account by writer Janet Malcolm in the pages of *The New Yorker* magazine in 1995, which was later published in book form. Malcolm's work is now the sub-

ject of a film action by Manion, who claims that some quotes ascribed to him were fabricated.

One of Manion's most painful experiences has been his estrangement from the man who initially allowed him access to the jealously guarded Freud collection—his secretary, Kurt Bessler. When Manion first discussed his theory in 1981, Bessler immediately fired him. Manion successfully sued for wrongful dismissal and won a \$186,000 settlement. But the experience has left both men shattered. Bessler told *The New Yorker* that he felt that Manion had betrayed his confidence and smeared Freud's reputation. "There was never any seduction," Bessler said, "that he did not think Freud was a great man." According to Manion, Bessler "has vowed never to read a word I write."

Although the psychoanalytic profession has generally dismissed his ideas, Manion has found strong support from some feminists. They have applauded what they see as a scholar illuminating the reality of sexually abused women. However, the support has been conditional. Said Manion: "They feel that I've gotten too much attention as a man for a woman's issue."

Since his controversial book, Manion has been unable to find work in his field, despite his Harvard University PhD in Sanskrit and a degree from the Toronto Institute of Psychoanalysis. Said Manion: "There seems to be a feeling among the intellectual community that I have done something so despicable that I should not be allowed a chance to explain what it is." Apart from lecturing in the Berkeley sandwich shop, Manion has recently completed an as-yet-unpublished study of attitudes toward women and children by 19th-century European psychiatrists. At the same time, he has begun work on an autobiography reflecting his experience as an academic heretic.

Being scorned by his colleagues contrasts to claims the former psychoanalyst considers his mental torment, his friends say. But they add that Manion has found unexpected comfort in the company of another figure who challenged the powerful, Daniel Ellsberg, the former Pentagon employee who in 2001 leaked the Pentagon Papers—a secret U.S. defense department study outlining the government's escalation of the Vietnam War. He frequently lunches with Manion in his sandwich shop. Said Manion's girlfriend, Denise Corvelli, of Ellsberg: "He is one of the few people Jeff can really talk to about what has happened."

—KEO FORTUNE in Berkeley



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## Reviving nationalism

**T**he protest was simple, dramatic and it vividly caught the nation's attention. As the U.S. Coast Guard icebreaker Polar Sea ploughed its way through the Northwest Passage last August 8, a privately chartered Tuva Otter aircraft circled 550 feet overhead. Then, swooping low, it

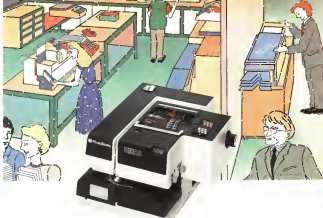
dropped a small Canadian flag on to the ship's deck. A message enclosed from native groups and a newly formed organization called the Council of Canadians (COC) made plainly clear the purpose of the flight: to signal to both Americans and Canadians that the ship's presence in Cow-

The CAC was formed a year ago by a group of nationalists alarmed by what they described as government policies that were eroding Canadian sovereignty. Already, the neopatriotic body has a membership of over 2,300 students, farmers, businessmen and trade union leaders, and it includes members from all three major political parties.

The *cruc* replaced another high-profile anticommunist movement, the Committee for an Independent Canada (1951), and it includes many of the same activists. Formed in 1970 by Walter Gordie, Peter C. Newman and Abraham Rotstein, the *cruc* was to replace the then-fading American anti-communist *cruc* in Canada. As its name implies, it stirred a membership of 18,000. eager to guard Canadian economic and cultural independence, the *cruc* lobbied the federal government and stimulated public opinion. Its proposals included that they should (1) in 1973 to create the Foreign Investment Review Agency (fina) as an investment watchdog and help to heighten public awareness of the risks of foreign-owned assets; (2) to create the *cruc*, claiming that it originated, could be an arbiter.

But by last year, many nationalists in the province wanted a new drive into the northwestern territories. Côté and the Conservative government had reshaped the idea into a diluted and inefficient agency, renaming it Investment Canada. Already, the ice hunters have claimed an early victory. They say that the public uproar created by the Polar Sea incident helped influence the government's decision to build a \$400-million Canadian icebreaker which will patrol the arctic waters. But critics of the idea say that the icebreaker program was a political manoeuvre by the Mulroney government to commercialize the area for closer trade ties with Washington.

The nationalists' opponents contend that the roc's activism is rated poorly by automobile possessors. But Hartig says he hopes that the roc will play a significant role in developing concern for Canada's sovereignty during the approaching free trade discussions. Added Hartig: "Every day more and more people are paying attention

[illegible]

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## A disputed remedy

Many of his grateful patients say that he is a miracle worker. To many members of the Canadian medical establishment he is a controversial figure who has inspired doubts and suspicions. When Ronni-plan-horn biochemist Pavel Kosak arrived in 1981 to describe his treatment for victims of a painful and sometimes deadly disease known as epidermolysis bullosa (EB), his enthusiastic methods immediately raised hopes among some of the victims. Since then, those who have the illness—in Canada there are an estimated 70 serious cases—have paid as much as \$10,000 a month for Kosak's treatments. But while Canadian medical officials acknowledged that there were improvements in some sufferers, they refused his request in 1982 to open a private clinic in Ontario. The Canadian authorities declared that his methods did not comply with conventional scientific procedures. The 56-year-old Kosak has now settled in Spain, where he has opened an office to treat his patients. Still one of his former patients, Tony Degabriele, 34, "This is a miracle."

The disease is a rare illness that is usually inherited, and it is marked by



Kosak, unforgiving support

painful red sores. Kosak's program, according to Toronto dermatologists who have studied Kosak's work, involves a rigorous diet of cooked fruit, vegetables and fresh meat as well as the application of ointment and bandages on the suppurating sores.

But experts doubt the lasting effects of the treatment. Last year University of Toronto skin experts published a study on the program, concluding that of 26 EB patients examined over a period of up to 12 months, only two showed sustained improvement. "It appears that the treatment has no significant effect in the long term," the doctors wrote. But Kosak said that of the patients he treats, "about 50 per cent are definitely cured and the other 50 per cent are very much improved."

Former patient Degabriele, who underwent treatment in West Germany for six weeks in 1981, remains a firm Kosak supporter. Although his hands are permanently scarred by the disease, he now lives a normal life in Georgetown, Ont., without medical treatment. Last year he established the Canadian Foundation for Chronic Skin Disease as a registered charity to finance research. And Degabriele of Kosak "He saved me from the dead."

—CHRISTOPHER GAGNE in Toronto

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Dr. Tony Degabriele, double Olympic gold medalist, Alex Boudreau

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# Myron Stefaniw, chemist, and Karey Herdson, scale operator, are noted for the company they keep.

## Genstar

Myron is with Genstar Cement Limited in Edmonton and Karey with Genstar Conservation Systems Ltd., Vancouver. Although they've never met, Myron and Karey have a lot in common. They're both very good at what they do, and they proudly share Genstar's commitment to serving their communities' needs.

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## FOLLOW-UP

# The king of penny stock

In the world of finance he is known as the successful king of the penny stock promoters. At 65, Murray Pezin has built—and lost—several fortunes promoting gold mines on the volatile Vancouver Stock Exchange (VSE). In the past 20 years the flamboyant, self-confident financier has created an empire by relentlessly pushing junior mining companies. In 1981 Pezin was spectacularly when some of his companies found a massive gold ore body near the northern Ontario town of Hemlo. The discovery created a modern-day gold rush at a time when the price of gold had soared to \$500 an ounce. Then, tumbling gold prices and a series of bad investments shook the financier's fortunes. But Pezin has recovered his money—as well as his swagger. Said Pezin, who is again promoting new mining discoveries: "My goal is to have discovered more gold mines than any known man."

Pezin has fascinated his colleagues with a career that has alternated between supreme success and abrupt ruin. In 1972 he declared bankruptcy after he invested \$100,000 in a housing event that failed to draw a large audience. His most recent setback took place in 1984, when the price of International Corona Resources Ltd. stock plunged. Pezin watched as Corona stock, a key company in the Hemlo gold field and in his portfolio, dropped in value with the falling price of gold. In a single two-month period his personal net worth shrank by \$7.5 million. The setback was compounded by a series of misguided investments, including a three-wheeled car and greeting cards with messages recorded by celebrities. The misadventures carried a personal as well as financial cost. Pezin was hospitalized for depression.

Despite these setbacks, fellow stock promoters say that the financier has again attracted the excitement of investors with a promising new gold find in La Ronge, Saskatchewan. Pezin relies on a network of emissaries and prospectors to provide information on potentially successful ore bodies. Although smaller than the Hemlo find, La Ronge has created a new surge of investor interest in both the ore body and in Pezin. Said Pezin: "One must never quit, no matter what."

—ANN WALSHLEY in Toronto



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The home on the left was built way back when. And in those days, oil was the least expensive alternative for home heating. But times have changed. So the heating system has also changed. The owners have added an electric plenum heater to their oil furnace, which has reduced their fuel bills substantially.

The home on the right is the new guy on the block. And because it's new, it has the latest heating technology. The owners chose an electric heat pump, a system so efficient that it actually delivers more energy than it takes to run it. A system so versatile that, in summer, it reverses its cycle and air conditions the home.

Two very different homes. But they both chose electric heat. With electric furnaces, room heaters, heat pumps, plenum heaters and hydronic boilers to choose from, there's an electric system right for every home, old or new. If you'd like help choosing the best one for you, call your local Hydro or contractor.

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### AN AMERICAN VIEW

## The limits of the American dream

By Fred Beuning

**T**he memorial services and transplants and commemorative cannon-firings are done now and we must deal with the stark and simple fact that seven Americans died aboard one of our spacepunks—perished in circumstances so terrible that, when contemplating the crew's final moments, we may wish to unplug our imaginations.

Again and again, we watched the sequence replayed—the fatal leak of oxygen flame, the massive explosion, the shower of splintered remains—and yet, vivid and haunting, the video images revealed too little. Whatever investigators ultimately decide, the episode off Cape Canaveral transcends matters of fuel leaks and metal fatigue. Technology was not the culprit in the wreck of Challenger; only an unwitting accomplice.

Those of us who declared that a space mission could fail so tragically now must confront our own naïveté. We believed too strongly in the notion of a boundless American destiny, of a course that was ours for the plucking. We trusted science and industry beyond what was reasonable. Rarely, we had become complacent and confident. Why else open the flight deck to a schoolteacher from New Hampshire as though she were about to embark upon nothing more perilous than a bus tour of the Kennedy Space Center?

No doubt, officials told Christa McAuliffe these were risks, but did they tell her enough? Did they tell what it might be like if all hell broke loose just after lift-off? Did they tell her there were no early abort procedures? Did anyone mention that Francis Scobee, commander of the doomed flight, said that a space tragedy surely would occur given the complexity of the project and the freedom freeroper employed? "Inevitable" is how Scobee judged the prospects for a mishap and, of course, he was right, sadly so.

McAuliffe may not have been dismissed in any case. Certainly her fellow citizens still had it as America's unique responsibility to traverse the heavens. A *New York Times* *News* poll conducted after the Challenger incident showed that 80 per cent of adults questioned favored continuation of the shuttle program. Two-thirds of the children surveyed said they would like to journey to space. Only 35 per cent of the grownups felt there is too

much emphasis on manned space travel. A suburban New Yorker was quoted as saying "The future is up in space, both for science and for our nation militarily. The world has seen empires go when the other fellow has just a little advantage."

The last place we want the other fellow to have an advantage is the mid-blue yonder. In 1957 the Soviets labored Sputnik into space and reality of us recoiled as though our borders were under siege. The enemy was in orbit and we were standing fist-footed below. John McGonagall, the crusty old congressman from Massachusetts, told his colleagues that America risked "national extinction" if it did not match the Soviet achievement. National extinction, no less.

Before long, John Kennedy was talking about a mission to the moon and the country was hooked. The prospect of colonial exploration—the very idea

**Those of us who doubted that a space mission could fail so tragically now must confront our own naïveté**

of it, enter space—thrilled us so that the skeptics' few who periodically questioned cost, safety or necessity were dismissed as lunatics or kifflegs. Accordingly, on July 20, 1969, Neil Armstrong trodged across a few feet of mooncape in halibut-leg boots and bulky spacesuit. An American flag was planted, our elation was staked. As a nation, we had acquired what writer Tom Wolfe later would describe simply as "the right stuff."

But by the time Challenger was set to depart on that chilly Florida morning last month, space had become a bit of a bore. Newspapers, fed by the readers, had begun tacking accounts of shuttle missions on inside pages. The saga was as more noteworthy in 1969 than, say, another auto fatality, political promise or trip to the electric chair? If not exactly weary of the extraterrestrial, we had grown entirely accustomed to it—the flitty clouds of lift-off exhaust, the arch of the orbiter, the falling away of the booster rockets, the metallic voice of the commander "Throats."

We had been seduced by success and

by space agency publicity statements and by the curtains and storage of the flight crew's. Russians simply wasn't percolated as being part of the program. For Americans, failure rarely in itself. Broadly, we held to the notion of ourselves as an untested people, safe from the march of history and happenstance.

The idea is married in our schools and by our leaders. It is a theme especially favored by President Reagan. In his state of the union message, the chief executive said "After all we've done so far, let no one say that this nation cannot reach the destiny of our dreams. America believes, America is ready. America can win the race to the future—and we shall."

Does the leader of any other nation envision the future in this way—as a land of Olympus from which only one nation will emerge? Spaciousness the Soviets, whose speeches so often are filled with blather and bombast, dare project themselves as the final conquerors of time and space? The President's ego is extraordinary in this regard, and no wonder. The earth and in the heavens, "Sovereign by Will," has become the American rallying cry. It is what we believe must deeply.

The terrible demise of Challenger may limit our notion of manifest destiny, but, likely, not for very long. We are in some sort of mourning state now and mourning for Americans who went wrong? Who's to blame? What can we do to avoid another disaster? Indeed, maybe rocketry is too risky for ordinary citizens, some are saying. Let's leave the work to professionals—the test pilots and mission specialists—who understand the dangers. And then let's get on with it.

Surely the space program is here to stay, and perhaps ought to be funded as generously as in the past. Still, many Americans feel wondering what might have been done had all those NASA billions been devoted, say, to cancer research, the environment or even public transportation. Americans want something more than just smooth-running streets, however—something that defines and unifies and ennobles our nationhood. Despite the wreck of Challenger, a fading rocket poised on the launch pad remains the signature of our spirit. In fire and light, we feel identity. We are advanced, yes, but primitive, too.

Fred Beuning is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.

# THE POWER BROKERS

CANADA/COVER

**T**hey are applicants in a city built to serve power, but they are a privileged breed. They know when to ask. How to ask. And when to ask for it. What they seek, they often get. They are the small but growing army of silent persuaders, many of them with deep roots in the nation's political parties and the bureaucracy. Armed with the right knowledge, a lobbyist in Ottawa can attain remarkable power. Lobbyists—hired by clients to trail far federal contracts, write intelligence reports or influence the direction of legislation—have come a long way from the shadowy universe of din corridors and stale cigar smokes. Instead, as if determined to put the nation's best and brightest lobbyists back in swanky designer offices high above the grey cloud of an Ottawa winter, going a generation for panoramic views of Parliament Hill—and of the elected and bureaucratic creatures below who cater to their needs. "See," said Gary Dwyer, vice-chairman of Government Consultants International, as he led a visitor into the firm's delectable 18th-floor of "See, 'see cigar smoke'."

But to a persistent band of critics both in and out of government, such assurances are no longer enough. Last week, as the House of Commons committee on elections, privileges and procedure received its mandate to begin hearings on a government proposal to monitor the activities of lobbyists,

there was a strong perception that lobbyists have grown much like the mirrored office towers many of them inhabit: those on the inside looking out have a spectacular view of the workings of government. But those on the outside looking in see nothing at all.

After years of opening on the fringes, without official status and without any restrictions—except for laws prohibiting the bribery of MPs and senators—a select group of Ottawa's lobby community is bracing for the light of its life. The government proposals, outlined in a discussion paper tabled in December by Commerce and Corporate Affairs Minister Michel Gauthier, threaten to strip lobbyists of their treasured invisibility by forcing them to register and list their clients. Inevitably, the Commerce committee, chaired by Alberta

Conservative MP Albert Cooper, must resolve the nagging questions raised by the growing influence of lobbyists on Parliament. Even lobbyists themselves, as well as opposition parties and independent critics, concede that there is a perception that friends of the government claim privileged access. And many backbench MPs, including Tories, were convinced that groups that could mount costly, pre-emptive lobbies before an issue even reaches Parliament have diminished the rules and rights of MPs and their electors.

The latest of registration has drawn a furious reaction from the diverse collection of businessmen and politicians

set up to lobby government. Among the least concerned, more than 300 national trade associations, ranging from the Canadian Petroleum Institute to the Canadian Medical Association ("I'm transparent," said James Dray, Ottawa director of the powerful Canadian Petroleum Association. "Everybody already knows who I represent")—the major oil companies. Others, like Adella Harley, a veteran lobbyist for the Canadian Coalition on Anti-Race, fear a modified version of the U.S. system, which requires lobbyists making direct contact with elected representatives to register and list their expenses. Said Harley: "If somebody is paying a million dollars to convince the government to export wheat, then I as a taxpayer want to know."

"Shame!" Among those with the most to lose by formal registration are the 40 companies listed in the Ottawa telephone book under the heading "Government Relations Consultants." Principals of these firms usually insist that they do not lobby—they merely offer their clients information or advice. But CMA's 88-page paper focuses its greatest concern on precisely that grey area—the potentially hidden relationship where a third party's interests are being promoted by a paid lobbyist.

Previously, key consultants went to work months before the discussion pa-

per's release in December trying to settle or at least control legal changes that might damage their business. Sam Hughes, for one, former president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and now president of Executive Consultants Ltd., a top-drawer Ottawa firm, talked with CMA on the telephone and met with the minister's key advisors prior to

the paper's release. The argument that registration could be an workable measure that will do little to stop "excesses of access and influence."

Since then, there have been informal attempts by Executive Consultants, several smaller firms, and by Public Affairs International (PAI), the largest and possibly best-connected consulting

firm in Ottawa, to forge a common front on registration in advance of the committee hearings. Hughes, tapping a well-thumbed copy of CMA's paper on his desk, conceded: "We have no shame in this issue. We will lobby the government on our behalf."

Ironically, some critics say that consultants have done more than a credible lobbying job already. Opposition MPs have charged that the discussion paper is all that remains of a firm promise Prime Minister Brian Mulroney made last September to have CMA introduce legislation "on an urgent basis" to monitor lobbyists. At the time, Mulroney was under fierce attack—both in the House and in the press—for a series of patronage appointments and for the wane of Conservative friends who came to Ottawa to trade on their intimate access to government. Among

them are several with close ties to the Prime Minister. One senior advisor, William Neville, who directed the Conservative government's transition to power during the fall of 1984, offering advice as hiring ministerial staff and even on the cabinet's potential make-up. Only one month after the government was sworn in, Neville assumed the chairmanship of PAI.

Mulroney clearly felt the heat from over former Newfoundland Conservative premier Frank Moores, a key adviser during Mulroney's campaign, who followed his leader to Ottawa and formed Government Consultants International (GCI). Among his colleagues at GCI is Ouellet, a Quebec City lawyer and longtime friend of Mulroney, and Gerald Dumont, brother of Mulroney's senior policy adviser, Paul Doucet.

Placed in the months prior to Mulroney's pledge to register lobbyists, opposition critics, and even some competing consulting firms, sensed Moores and GCI at trading on close ties with the Mulroney government. Last September Moores resigned from his place. Conservative appointment as a director of the board of Air Canada after it was reported that GCI had represented two competing Canadian airlines, Winkler and Nordair, as well as a Boreplain aerospace consortium trying to



Parliament Hill. Moore (below) discharging a promise for urgent action



GMA, registration

and wide-bodied jets to Air Canada.

Last month controversy flared again after reports that on was setting for the 100th anniversary of the Western Industries Inc., which last week was still seeking cabinet approval for its takeover of the station publisher Press-Info-Hall Canada Inc. Despite OIA's reputation as the whipping boy of Ottawa lobby firms, Moore is one of the few companies to publicly support registration. In a statement that preceded Maloney's by almost two months, Moore said, "It is essential that there be a general understanding of this important profession and its practitioners in positions of identification." Still, Moore insists that lobbying provides a vital "translation process" between business and government. "There is nothing to be ashamed of. It's a very worthwhile function."

Lobbying has played a vital part in shaping the federal budget that Finance Minister Michael Wilson will present on Feb. 28. Sixth grade in the Canadian Chamber of Commerce and the Business Council on National Issues, which represent some chief executives from 150 of the country's largest companies, have long pressed for substantial cuts in the deficit.

**Absent:** Lobbying for the budget "is a continuous process," said Senate Conservative Mr. Donald Breen, chairman of the Commerce Issues committee and a frequent target of lobbyists himself. Still, Breen says that their early earnings have saved the government some embarrassing postbudget headlines. He added that lobbyists can head off trouble created when officials in Ottawa, isolated from the reality of the world, proceed to go off on a tangent without realizing the realities of a business that they have just managed to slaver.

It is difficult to judge how firm is the government's resolve to act on the committee's eventual recommendations. While CIO has said and been personally through a registration system, the implicit message in his paper is that lobbying is more a problem of public perception than of actual abuses. Maloney himself and the government was not aware of any "particular improprieties." The government is simply saying that something so important should not be clouded by mystery.

If nothing else, critics say a registration system would reveal just how heavily lobbyists trade on political

contacts. The Conservative election victory brought sweeping changes in many Ottawa consulting firms, the birth of several new Tory firms and the withering of business for several with Liberal ties—giving that party affiliation is as important as it ever was. For instance, the recruitment of Neville was seen as a master stroke that ensured his continued success under a Conservative government. And a parent company is controlled by lobbyist Allan Gough, the Tories' main opinion supplier, and by David MacNaughton, who organized Donald Johnston's unsuccessful Liberal leadership campaign in 1984.

In fact, many clients are recruited because of the perception that a lobbyist

Anti-Poverty Organization are highly visible on Parliament Hill. And the Prime Minister himself felt the impact of the pressure coalition which last June forced a government retreat on plans to limit the increase of pensions in line with inflation.

**Blind:** The essential difference is that with high-grade government intelligence reports and a well-run perceptible lobby, the major firms can effect changes before an emotional—and risky—lobbying campaign is necessary. The system, Breen notes, places a high premium on the secrecy of cabinet deliberations. In addition to getting access to inside information, it becomes essential to monitor the release of news releases, speeches and government debates. Adds Breen: "That material usually leads to what might happen, and if you see that then you can get your ear in early to stop it. And it is the people who can afford to have their persons in Ottawa who can have that up-front knowledge."

The ability of lobbyists to preempt Parliament has not escaped them in some ways. Since 1982, frustrated backbenchers have introduced 19 private member's bills designed to control the activities of lobbyists, who usually focus their attention on key businesses and cabinet ministers. The most recent bill, drafted by Newfoundland Conservative Mr. James McGrath—like all the others—died last Jan. 27 when it failed to win all-party support. With the Commons now experimenting with reforms to give committees and individual MPs greater powers and more freedom, McGrath said that there may be a boom in lobbying activity. "They will become even more active as their target members of Parliament who will have considerable loyalty in their legislative powers."

**Senators:** Working New Democrat Mr. William Blaikie voiced the frustration felt by some MPs when he broke from his party's policy and opposed registration of lobbyists during debate on McGrath's bill. "By moving to register lobbyists," he said, "we will be giving a kind of legitimacy to an element of our political process which is to be lamented." For senators concerned, accurately polishing their image in preparation for the committee hearings, that is not an option that they wish to see presented. "We have a more accurately expressed by a business statistician in the recognition area of Executive Consultants Group to Hughes by a grateful—and anonymous—client for his advice and guidance, it perhaps a wise step—being courtesy a last step."

in has solid political connections. Lobbyists, said Al Litvack, professor of business policy at Toronto's York University, feel a perception of "access to the corridors of power." And with remuneration of top consulting firms ranging from \$10,000 to \$14,000 per month, major clients may believe they are buying the closest route along with the corridor. Cautious Mr. Neville: "Those who think so are extremely naive."

But lobbying is not the exclusive preserve of big business. Such low-budget groups as the Consumers' Association of Canada and the National

Anti-Poverty Organization are highly visible on Parliament Hill. And the Prime Minister himself felt the impact of the pressure coalition which last June forced a government retreat on plans to limit the increase of pensions in line with inflation.

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1984 only months after the election of the Maloney government. The son of a wealthy oilfield 4th generation, Moore is a former Newfoundland politician (1971-76), federal MP and Progressive Conservative party president. He had a private school education at St. Andrew's College in Aurora, Ont., before launching a successful business career. An enduring friendship with Maloney, an old fishing companion, and other key Tories means Moore, 58, one of the best-connected lobbyists in Ottawa—and among the most controversial. One recent failure was announced by a \$10,000 research fee Moore collected in 1983 from a Nova Scotia fisherman. Not long after, although Moore denied any connection, the fisherman met with then-fisheries minister Jack Fraser. In the ensuing uproar the government declared that tighter restrictions on lobbyists would be imposed. Said Moore

"A properly constituted regulatory framework in Canada for government relations people, or lobbyists, is an idea whose time has come."

**Thomas d'Aquino**, president and chief executive officer of the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI). An articulate 45-year-old international lawyer with more than a decade of experience advising the corporate

class studies on issues from finance to external relations. The council has been particularly effective in the field of parliamentary reform and is currently pushing for major reductions in the federal budget deficit. Said d'Aquino: "Our members discuss confidentially. We bring the sense of business to government in a more sophisticated, better-prepared way."

**William Neville**, chairman of Public Affairs International (PAI). Joe Clark's chief of staff from 1978 to 1981, the Montreal-born Neville is a former vice-president of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce and a member of Prime Minister Maloney's transition

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# A WHO'S WHO OF PERSUADERS

COVER

The lobbyists who work to influence policy on Prime Minister's Office have gained their credentials in private industry, industry government or by exposing special interest causes. Among the most visible practitioners:

**Frank Moore**, chairman of Ottawa-based Government Consultants International Inc., formed in the winter of

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Moore: learning to influence laws and policy by explaining concerns in ways ordinary people can understand

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Neville analyzed



—KEN MACDONALD in Ottawa with correspondence reports

twice. Neville insists that he is not strictly in the lobbying business. Instead, he says, she is a lobbyist and analyst. It provides an government policy and the business sector clients to do the job themselves. The art of lobbying, says Neville, is, in part, to persuade people that their goals and his are the same. "You are going to get self-interest to an issue like government spending and have any credibility."

**Charles Hosack**, president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), a long-standing, 59-year-old firm in Ottawa, taught English literature at the University of Toronto, then abruptly switched careers, joining Gordon Capital Corp. as a pension analyst in 1985. Before Hosack took charge of Canada's most powerful women's organization in 1984, NAC had established a reputation as a force to be reckoned with. But one of Hosack's contributions—the federal leaders debate on women's issues during the 1984 election campaign—was a notable first. Friends describe Hosack as someone whose congenial manner and desire not to offend disguise a strategic and analytical intellect. Hosack, for her part, credits the success of the volunteer women's organization to its lack of cliques and sexism. Instead of being perceived as a lobbying group, NAC is seen as an organization with strong grassroots ties. Says Hosack, "We've become very good at explaining our concerns in ways ordinary people can understand."

**Adrian Marley** and **Michael Parker**, executive co-ordinators for the Canadian Coalition on Anti-Racism, a cohesive and successful issue, Hurley and Perley brought the aid and main lobby close to realizing its major objectives after six years of work in Washington and Ottawa. Hurley, 32, is a former environmental researcher for the Ontario Liberals whose introduction to lobbyists was as the target of their subliminalism. Parker, 29, is a former executive director of the Canadian Environmental Law Research Foundation. Marley got his introduction to the lobbying game while working for the Liberals in Ontario. A group of American lobbyists was attempting a tactic—write down the name of the Canada-U.S. border. "I'd never seen people who were so good," he said. "They knew to come to me. They knew that

the side drafts the questions." Soon after, the group landed her own lobbying skills in Washington for the coalition. Among other things, she has learned that on Capitol Hill there are "no permanent friends, no permanent enemies—only personal interests." Canada's more loosely defined policy-making process allows for more flexibility, adds Perley. "But in the United States, everyone knows that everyone else is out to achieve certain objectives. There are very few Americans about friendship."



d'Aquino, Deacon (below) inflexible values



**John Deacon**, Ottawa director of the Canadian Physicians Association. The son of a steel salesman, the Ottawa-born Deacon, 36, began his lobbying career with the National Indian Brotherhood (1973-78) and the United of B.C. Indian chiefs (1974). He worked briefly for the federal Conservative party and

in 1976 he became a policy adviser to former Liberal energy minister Allan Rock—until 1979. After lobbying on the Foothills Oil Pipeline proposal for a private West Coast energy company, he joined the petroleum association in 1980 as area Office, he notes, the value of a lobbyist is measured in intangibles. Said Deacon, "Many of the successes you have are the things you can't see to happen."

**William Hamilton**, executive secretary of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture (CFA), a Saskatchewan member in agricultural issues since his days as a prairie farm boy, Hamilton, 62, earned an agriculture degree from the University of Saskatchewan. After a stint as a research analyst for a royal commission on agriculture, Hamilton joined the provincial's Directorate of Agriculture before coming to Ottawa in 1967. The one, which he has represented for 13 years, embraces numerous provincial associations and specialized commodity organizations. Hamilton's challenge is to ensure that a unified front is presented to government. Said Hamilton, "We've got people who say to us, 'We've got to raise Cals with the government.' But all of our people might not be on the same beat. You have to have a policy that's as well researched and well documented as possible." One recent win, victory a national feed grain policy, along federal-proposed lines, which reconciles the needs of western producers with eastern consumers.

**Sam Hughes**, president of Executive Consultants Ltd. (ECL), an Ottawa former stockbroker, Hughes turned into a savvy lobbyist after twelve during eight years as president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce (1975-88 and 1989-91). Hughes, 46, was instrumental in giving the country's largest business organization a credible voice in Ottawa and helped negotiate sales tax reductions across the country in 1978. He once attributed the chamber's success to "being able to find a chair in the arena of government service." He stepped down from the chamber to join an, a public affairs firm founded by Bill Lee, a longtime Liberal friend who had earlier headed John Turner's leadership campaign. Hughes's assigned sensitivity to business leads him to reject any proposal for the registration of lobbyists. Said Hughes bluntly, "No bloody way are we going to see any sensible element in a government decision that requires us to disclose who our corporate clients are and how much they're paying." ECL's yearly revenues, "Well, it's seven figures," according to Hughes.

—ALBION BARRIS in Ottawa



Strauss (left), Schlegel (center), with Quebec's Robert Strauss (right)

## WINNING POINTS IN WASHINGTON

COVER

**W**hen U.S. congressmen enter the House of Representatives for a major vote, a familiar lobbying committee awaits them in the main lobby. Having lobbyists for groups and organizations signal how they want the legislators to vote on a bill by holding their thumbs up or down. While politicians have found the ritual embarrassing enough to have banned cameras, few of Washington's lawmakers would deny that the regularly 7,000 registered lobbyists—and the millions of dollars they receive and spend annually in the course of their work—are an integral part of the American political process.

**Influence:** Lobbyists have played an official role in Washington's political life since 1848, when they were first inspired by Joe to register with Congress. But their influence on the political process has grown rapidly during the past decade. According to Congress, corporations, interest groups and private individuals spent \$846 million in lobbying efforts in the first six months of 1991, compared with \$1 million two decades ago. At the same time, traditional lobbying methods have been supplemented by a new form of influence peddling as the result of a 20-year-old legislative reform that allows

interest groups to set up political action committees (PACs) to finance congressional election campaigns. Critics claim that the out-of-control dollar pools of financing have put the political system up for sale. Said Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa), one of the few in Congress who will not touch PAC money: "It would be going too far to call it bribery, but certainly there is an element of influence peddling that is not trivial."

**Starts:** The headquarters for many of Washington's leading lobbyists are located in the modern office buildings lining K Street, a few blocks north of the White House. On the same floor of one such building, behind closed, unmarked doors, are the offices of former U.S. defense and energy secretary James Schlesinger—a Republican whose clients include Hydro-Quebec—and Stephen Brodwin, the Jewish Democrat who served as national security adviser to former president Jimmy Carter. Other lobbyists in the area include former U.S. trade ambassador Robert Strauss, retired civil servants—and relatives of current officials. While the lobbyists often describe themselves as lawyers or consultants, it is undeniable that their clients expect the former insiders together privileged information and to wield influence on their behalf.

But falling stars of former administrations represent only a tiny fraction of the U.S. lobbying trade. "Only a few burn enough weight to throw around," says Levens Gray, who since 1985 has been visiting visitors for lobbyists at George Washington University. Moreover, a survey last fall by the Washington-based National Journal concluded that "the city's best known lobbyists are also the most overrated lobbyists."

Despite the time and money involved, lobbying efforts can have unpredictable results. According to the latest annual registration reports—lobbyists are notoriously late in filing the quarterly statements required by law—the U.S.

textile industry spent \$1.8 million in the first six months of 1991 to promote legislation to reduce the first of foreign textiles into the country. A bill supported by the lobby was passed by Congress last December, only to be vetoed by President Reagan.

**Success:** James Schlegel, a former leader who seeks to overturn the socialist government of Angola in southern Africa, may have been more successful in his attempt to influence Washington. Cut off from U.S. funds since 1976, Savaris last year signed a \$600,000 contract with the lobbying firm of Clark, Manafort, Schlegel & Kelly. The result, a highly publicized visit to the White House last month, according to The Washington Post, an agreement for a secret resumption of American funding for Savaris's forces.

While many Americans regard traditional lobbying as distasteful, there is no serious suggestion that it should be banned. The vice versa has not been made possible by the 1976 Campaign Reform Act, 24/24 were covered as pools of campaign funding gathered by citizens to support candidates favorable to the causes they supported. It is a controversial rule that prevents PACs from giving a single congressional candidate more than \$5,000, many groups took advantage of a legal loophole to form multiple PACs—each with the same basic objective. As a result, while 488 PACs in 1974 disbanded only about 200 in 1989, Congressmen's campaigns, by 1984 about 3,500 PACs donated more than \$125 million. Now, a lobby group called Citizens Against Tax has been formed to combat their influence. But with the cost of U.S. election campaigns constantly rising, it is unlikely that any Congress will ban the political tool needed to end the most intractable lobby game around.

—BRIAN KOPPEL in Washington







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# A CAMPAIGN THAT FAILED

COVER

**F**or the determined champions of Ethiopia's Falasha Jews, the issue was politically sensitive—but morally imperative. A community of 20,000 black Jews faced economic and cultural rifts in a drought-stricken country controlled by a hostile Marxist regime, and Canada was in a unique position to help. In 1980 a group of young Jewish activists founded the Canadian Association for Ethiopia Jewry (CAEJ) and began to publicize the Falashas' plight. It also lobbied the Canadian government for diplomatic assistance. But the campaign became a classic case of a lobby that failed. Said Toronto film-maker Brenda Jacobowitz, whose film, *Falasha: Birth of the Black Jews*, gained wide support for the cause: "I guess we were naive. But I still believe that with a flick of the finger Canada could have played a significant role in rescuing a Jewish community facing extinction."

**Pressure.** Oppressed efforts to help the Falashas began in the late 1970s when Jewish groups in Canada and the United States appealed to Israel to step up its rescue efforts. Then, in 1979 the Canadian Jewish Congress approached the department of external affairs for help. But from the beginning, government officials were wary. Robert McInnes, director of African affairs, wrote the congress, "Canadian Embassy staff in Addis Ababa are not aware of any current campaigns of religious or political persecution"—and cited an article in the government-controlled Ethiopian *World* as confirmation.

The activists disputed that assessment, and the expedition mounted a campaign designed to pressure Ottawa to reach between Ethiopia and Israel, which have no diplomatic links. CAEJ officials took their message to the media across the country, lobbied MPs and approached the departments of external affairs and immigration. "We were always given a polite hearing in Ottawa," recalled CAEJ president Jack Hoge, a Toronto lawyer. "But every time it looked like we were making progress, someone wanted yet more information."

Even without Canada's participation, by 1986 some 7,000 Falashas—sitting a clandestine "underground railway"—had made their way to Israel. But famine in Ethiopia worsened the Falashas' situation, while problems of assimilation in Israel—and the high costs of resettlement—kindled a bitter debate over their presence. Increasingly desperate, CAEJ activists publicly ques-

tioned whether Israel was moving quickly enough to save Falashas.

CAEJ's questions angered many Jews and alarmed some refugee workers, who accused the group of jeopardizing delicate behind-the-scenes efforts to help the Falashas. Said Howard Adelman, a philosophy professor at Toronto's York University and director of the school's Refugee Project: "I have no doubt that they were well-meaning. But their tactics threatened to do more harm than

good." By the end of the 1980s, thousands of Ethiopian Jews were airlifted via Europe to Israel. But six weeks later, when an Israeli official leaked word of the airlift to the press, the operation was aborted, leaving more than 4,000 Falashas stranded in Sudan.

With Canada's record of neutrality in the region and its extensive aid to Ethiopia, Hoge argued that Ottawa "was in a very special position. It could have provided a conduit to get these people out." But by then the split within the Jewish community had become an insurmountable liability for CAEJ. And as its efforts to help Ottawa with a renewed sense of urgency, they encountered resistance and stalling. Said one angry CAEJ spokesman: "It was partly a case of conflicting advice about what was in the Falashas' best interests and partly bureaucrats not wanting to rock the boat."



Falasha youth in their native village: "we were naive"

good." But Bruce Gottlieb, a Montreal journalist and CAEJ's first president, disagreed: "We did something that had not been done before," Gottlieb conceded. "We convinced Israel. But something had to be done and done quickly."

**Secrets.** By mid-1984 the Falashas' existence was so prominent that thousands had trickled from villages in the northern Gondar province to refugee camps in Sudan. But conditions in the camps were even worse than in Ethiopia, said Jacobowitz. "As Jews in an Arab country, they were in a desperate situation. Official reports indicated that they were dying at a rate of more than 30 per day."

Then, in November, 1984, under increasing pressure, Israel launched Operation Moses. With the secret coopera-

tion of the Sudanese government, thousands of Ethiopian Jews were airlifted via Europe to Israel. But six weeks later, when an Israeli official leaked word of the airlift to the press, the operation was aborted, leaving more than 4,000 Falashas stranded in Sudan.

For many CAEJ supporters, Canada's failure to act was a bitter blow. Said Hoge: "We had assurances from Sudan that the Falashas could leave. We had sponsors in Canada. We could have helped." Despite its failures, CAEJ continues to lobby Ottawa. One hopeful sign: a January letter from Brian Mulroney as the Prime Minister and his government would be prepared to approach the Ethiopian regime to ease suffering. Canada, says Gottlieb, "It is still our conviction that the Falashas will not be forgotten."

—ANN FINKELBAUM in Toronto

ILLUSTRATION BY JIM TAYLOR

# Pursuing a dream at a Gallic summit



Maurice in Toronto last week: it's need for deeds as well as preserving words

It was a dream first actively promoted by Senegal's post-president Léopold Senghor and by Tunisian president Habib Bourguiba. In the early 1960s the two African leaders, along with King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia and a small coterie of French-speaking intellectuals, envisaged a grouping of the world's francophone people that would safeguard the global future of French—and serve as a cultural and political counterpoint to the worldwide influence of the English-speaking Commonwealth and the United States. Almost a quarter of a century later,

this week's historic first summit meeting in Paris of leaders and envoys of 41 French-speaking governments from around the world—including Canada and Quebec—is testimony to both the durability of the concept of "la Francophonie" and the serious difficulties that accompanied its birth. Most leaders, including Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, travelled in Paris with few illusions that the fledgling political association could take wing on words alone. Declared Mulroney, on the eve of his departure: "This community will not be built by mere lofty praise of the greatness of the French language."

From the outset, the task of transmuting la Francophonie from a poet's vision into a viable political force has been marked by apathy and hesitancy. Senghor himself, now retired at 70, discovered that few leaders shared his enthusiasm for la Francophonie, a term coined by a French geographer in 1960 and revived by Senghor in 1962 to describe a French-speaking commonwealth. When support for the idea began to build, hesitation on the part of France—and a 15-year struggle between Ottawa and Quebec over the province's participation—delayed further progress.

But the diversity of interests represented at the three-day Paris summit may prove to be an even larger obstacle to a lasting association. Unlike the 49 Commonwealth countries, linked by history with the British Empire and its parliamentary institutions, the peoples who regularly use the French language are as far apart—culturally, politically and geographically—as Haiti and Egypt, Canada and Vietnam. At the same time, the future of French and the viability of la Francophonie face a challenge in the steady rise of English—the world's second most widely spoken language after Chinese—as the international means of discourse in high-technology communications and computer software.

Still, organizers of the Paris summit planned an ambitious series of closed meetings this week to discuss the world political and economic situation, North-South issues, co-operation among francophone nations, and the future of the French language in a high-technology world. Canada and Quebec, along with France, Senegal and Tunisia, played key roles in planning the summit and developing its format and agenda. In fact, it was not until November, 1986, when the Conservative government in Ottawa reached agreement with the then-Paro Québecois government in Quebec as the province's participation that France agreed to hold the summit at all.

The federal-provincial deadlock ended with a compromise forged last fall by negotiators for Mulroney and outgoing PQ premier René Lévesque. Under the terms of that accord, Quebec participates as an "interested observer" in summit discussions of international politics, but may intervene—with federal permission—on economic issues seen to affect its interests. By agreement, Quebec officials also sit alongside federal delegates in plenary sessions, identify themselves as "Canada-Québec" and

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display the provincial flag. The formula was subsequently extended to include officially bilingual New Brunswick and endorsed by Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa, who took power from the PQ in December. Manitoba and Ontario decided to send nonparticipating observers.

Meanwhile, a delicate protocol problem over speaking order was resolved last week. Mulroney, who was staying after the summit for a two-day

visit, sent Canada on international issues. Lévesque would have attended only discussions within provincial jurisdictions. Devalued former Quebec intergovernmental affairs minister Claude Morin "It was an occasion for Trudeau to eliminate the beginnings of an international stature for Quebec. It became a real obstacle."

Mulroney, whose 1984 election promises included a commitment to "national consultation," was determined that

citing a desire to remain politically neutral in international affairs. Initially, Canadian diplomatic sources told Mulroney's Press, who also appeared ready to address only aid, development and cultural issues. But Canadian External Relations Minister Mosquito Vissers, the minister responsible for the summit, pressed for what one insider described as "a less ideological, more modern" agenda, similar to those drawn up for Commonwealth meetings. De-



official visit to France, was scheduled to speak for Canada at the formal opening session at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris. Bourassa appeared to address the dinner. Mulroney also said that if Bourassa or New Brunswick Premier Richard Hatfield wanted to speak at other times, "all they will have to do is notify me and ask me." Declared a senior federal official: "After all the years of backsliding between Lévesque and the Trudeau Liberals over Quebec's participation, Mulroney's attitude was a breath of fresh air."

Trudeau, wary throughout the 1970s of having "indigenism" ferment in Quebec, had consistently rejected provincial demands for de facto national status in any francophone meeting. For its part, France was equally adamant that no summit would be held without Quebec. As a result, plans for a summit fell through on two occasions during the Trudeau era.

In 1979 Ottawa and Quebec could not even agree on who should be sent to a preparatory meeting of foreign ministers called by Sogahy in Dakar, Senegal's capital. In 1980 similar disputes led to the collapse of a year deal in which the collapse alone would have repre-

mented Canada on international issues. Lévesque would have attended only discussions within provincial jurisdictions. Devalued former Quebec intergovernmental affairs minister Claude Morin "It was an occasion for Trudeau to eliminate the beginnings of an international stature for Quebec. It became a real obstacle."

The approval of the summit created a series of new problems for its organizers. Several French-speaking countries in Africa at first opposed enlarging the scope of the meeting beyond economic co-operation issues and a discussion of the French language. Algeria decided not to attend,

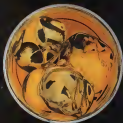
clashed Beuchard "Peace and world economic development are too important to be discussed only in English, Russian or Japanese." As a result, a quarter of the summit's sessions were to be devoted to such issues.

Canadian officials also pressed to ensure that the summit concluded with concrete projects and proposals. Said Mulroney: "La Francophonie will be a door of funds, or it will be nothing."

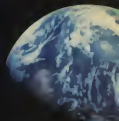
October's Commonwealth conference in Nassau, Bahamas. For Canada, which supported Quebec's desire to hold the first francophone summit in Québec City, the development of a new political association would put the country in a unique international position. As a



Sogahy diversity



PREMIUM IS PREMIUM.



member of both the Commonwealth and la Francophonie, Canada could claim a privileged relationship with more than half the world's nations, giving Mulroney a special role as a potential mediator between the two organizations.

For the host, President François Mitterrand, the summit offered an important political opportunity—just one month before critical legislative elections in France—to emphasize his role as the architect of French foreign policy. But Canadian diplomatic sources add that France, at first reluctant to reduce its ambivalent relationship with former colonies in Africa, has now conceded that it should no longer be the developed country to which those cash-hungry nations look first for foreign aid.

Around the world, French is spoken by more than 110 million people in 58 countries or five continents. But it ranks only 12th globally after, among others, Mandarin Chinese, English, Hindustani, Russian, Spanish, Arabic, Portuguese, Japanese and German. It is the mother tongue and only official language in just eight nations but is the shared official language or the language of instruction in more than two dozen others, primarily in Africa. Historically, French was the main language of world diplomacy, reaching its peak of influence in the 19th century when it was used at the royal courts of Germany, Russia and Italy.

Despite the decline in the importance of its language, France has projected it around the world. An army of more than 26,000 government-financed teachers from France appears so certain French is 150 speakers—at a cost to Paris last year of about \$700 million in addition, the French government has set up a five-year plan to extend the reach of Radio France and try to match the influence of the English-language BBC World Service.

Among the issues on the Paris summit agenda, two took on a special urgency. Most of the world's major computer data banks now store information in English only, and most of the software being developed for the new generation of computers is in French. Mitterrand said recently that French must adapt to new technology. René Bouchard, "If we want to fight against the invasion of English terms in computer language, it is not enough to say we must not play—we must take our place." More than anything else, the response of summit members to that challenge will determine the future of French in the 21st century.

—MICHAEL BURE is Ottawa with MALLORY JONES in Paris and LIZIE DODDIE in Atlanta.



Lortie of the Colonnades working on effort to preserve a culture

## Living French in Canada

Singing is the first love of Paul Lortie, an Edmonton optician who performs the national anthem before hockey games at the Northlands Coliseum. But Lortie—who retired a

death about three years ago after singing a bilingual version of O Canada before an Edmonton Oilers-Montreal Canadiens game—says that his passion for French language and culture ranks a close second. As one of roughly 61,000 Franco-Albertans, Lortie adds that many francophones bring outside Quebec a "sense of shame" about their francophone heritage. And that feeling, he says, leads them to seek assimilation into the culture of the English majority. "We have to seek out French Canadians to keep your roots," Lortie said last week. "If you look hard, they are out there."

But as world francophone leaders confer at a Paris summit this week, that search is becoming increasingly difficult. While French-language culture has grown stronger in Quebec, elsewhere the percentage of Canadians who speak French in their homes is dwindling—from 38 per cent in 1961 from 44 per cent in 1971, according to census statistics. Still, many French Canadians are determined to preserve their language and culture. Paul René Lortie, 73, who moved to

Regina from Quebec when he was 4 and publishes Saskatchewan's weekly French newspaper, *L'Écho* First: "It's a personal challenge."

The commitment, back by individuals and by isolated francophone communities, mark a change of emphasis in the efforts to preserve French. Until recently, many francophones outside Quebec relied on the courts to protect their language, notably in Manitoba, where 1978 and 1985 Supreme Court of Canada decisions guaranteed the status of French as an official language of the north. But increasingly, francophone communities have tried to take the fate of their cultural survival out of politicians, and instead have turned to the promotion of local cultural institutions and bilingual schools. The effort has encountered resistance. "As soon as you want to be recognized as being French, people think you are some kind of radical," said Roger Gauthier, the executive director of the Saskatchewan French Cultural Association (SFCA).

Still, campaigns to save French persist across the country. More than 800 parents met earlier this month in Halifax to press the provincial cabinet to construct as \$11-million francophone centre, which would house a French school and serve 20,000 franco-



Francophone change



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pages being in the Malibu-Dartmouth area in Saskatchewan, where only an estimated 10,000 of the province's 46,000 francophones speak mainly French at home, the first publisher a newsletter that is inserted into the Regina-based *Le Nouvel* Y.

Although many Canadian francophones still believe that the worldwide survival of French will ultimately be decided in France, they are less likely now than they were a generation ago to look to France for inspiration. Said Gilles Marrette, 60, a Montreal writer and French literature professor at the University of Montreal: "Quebecers of my generation were steeped in the francophile dream. They dreamed of going to France, almost of dying there. Some students still want to go, but they are not as ready as they used to be." For some francophones living outside Quebec, Montreal has accepted this role. Said Louis Desrochers, 55, a Montrealer now practicing law in Edmonton: "Montreal is the city I feel most at home in. There is an emotional attachment there." But not all francophones share that affinity for Quebec. Fredericton accountant Pierre Gauthier, 26, acknowledged the linguistic ties between Quebec and New Brunswick's 250,000 francophones, but he added: "We really don't get along all that well. We are like siblings, and Quebec is the big brother."

A more telling factor in the struggle to preserve French, many linguists say, is the dominance of English in the modern workplace—especially in the use of computers and new communications technology. Said Mario Forest, a Halifax systems engineer: "All the technical information is in English. We can turn into English speakers easily because we're so dependent."

Francophone leaders say that, they are encouraged by the increasing popularity of bilingual education. In Manitoba the number of students enrolled in French immersion programs has increased to 13,000 this year from 630 in 1974. But some parents express concern that their children are losing a part of their heritage they may never recover. Pierre Granger, a 58-year-old Quebec-born translator who moved to Calgary in 1984 to work for an oil company, still reads French books, subscribes to the Montreal daily *Le Presse* and attends French plays. But his 12-year-old son, Jean, is losing his fluency. Said Granger: "You wake up one day and find your son isn't French anymore. You are sorry, but it's too late."

—BRUCE WHELAN in Montreal with REGINE DUTTE in Montreal, DALE EDWARDS in Regina and MICHAEL ROBERT in Montreal. EDWARDS (LEFT) is Publisher and WHELAN (RIGHT) is Editor.

## A call to the polls

When he was elected premier of Manitoba in November, 1981, New Democrat Howard Pawley promised to end the frictions between his Conservative predecessor, Sterling Lyon, and Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. The Pawley years, he said then, would be a time of co-operative federation. But last week, as Pawley called a long-expected provincial election for March 18, it was clear

will target 48 key ridings in the hope of maintaining their majority.

In a surprising reversal of traditional party lines, Conservatives under Gary Filmon, 43, began his campaign defending traditional socialist planks, accusing the size of underfunding schools, hospitals and day care. But it was Pawley who dominated the headlines. Friday morning in Thompson, the premier announced a \$4.3-billion, 16-year deal to sell electricity to six U.S. utilities begin-



Pawley as constituency officer: born out and plans for hydroelectric exports

that the spirit of cooperation had died. Addressing the annual Manitoba 50th anniversary in Winnipeg, Pawley requested delegates of both recent federal crises as twisted tales and bunk ballads—and reduced transfer payments to the province. Tories may believe in trouble down economic, the premier, 51, declared, "but ordinary Manitobans don't care to be tricked down upon."

As well as attacking Ottawa, Pawley's campaign strategy will emphasize his government's successful management of the economy. Manitoba shared the second-lowest average unemployment rate for 1985—5.1 per cent—with Saskatchewan. Last November the Royal Bank of Canada predicted that in 1986 Manitoba would "outperform the national economy in most economic measures." Then, as he opened the 28-day campaign with a visit through southwestern Manitoba, Pawley outlined a program for debt-plagued farmers that would protect them from farm foreclosure. With 22 seats in the legislature, compared with the Tories' 22, the PCs

ering in 1988. In response, Filmon declared that a Conservative government would sell hydro power within Canada before exporting to the United States. Discounting a deal so far off, he charged, is like "trying to determine what our grandpa would have done in the 1930s or 1960s."

As the campaign opened, the question of French-language status in Manitoba, a divisive issue two years ago, did not rank as a major factor. At the peak of the controversy, Pawley's popularity sank to 266 per cent. But the premier weathered the crisis, and the most recent provincial poll gave the PCs 65 per cent of consented voters, compared with the Conservatives' 35 per cent. With that narrow cushion, Pawley is gambling that his "stand up for Manitoba" slogan will have voters frustrated with the federal government. The result next month may be a judgment not only on Pawley's NDP, but on Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Tories in Ottawa.

—DORIS SMITH in Winnipeg

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ON employees survey wreckage: a declaration of human error despite the argument the freighter's facilities might suffer

## 'What the hell happened in that cab?'

A grudge snow fell on the heaps of charred, twisted wreckage. Under leader skies, work crews unstrapped the remnants of the accident—the Feb. 8 head-on collision between a CN freight train and a Via Rail passenger train 16 km east of Blain, Alta. As bulldozers and cranes dressed in the background, some 180 CN employees helped police in round-the-clock shifts. The object of their search: the estimated 26 victims of one of Canada's worst rail accidents this century.

While workers shoveled through 20-foot piles of still-unexploded grain spilled in the collision, others reflected personal efforts in green garbage bags, then marked them for police. But the main focus was on what remained of a blue Via Rail car—where as many as 27 of the bodies were presumed buried. The force of the collision was so great—and the death car so badly crumpled—that it took almost two days to free it from the rest of the wreck.

By week's end, the grisly scene of recovery was still far from complete. Among the bodies recovered were those of Jack Hladson and Mark Edwards, the CN crew members in the cab of the lead locomotive, which can through the two warning signals be-

fore hitting the passenger train—with a force of 25 million pounds. The key question, as CN spokesman William Deegan put it, "What the hell happened in that cab?"

While the search continued, no fewer than three separate investigations were launched. Among them a federal judicial inquiry headed by Alberta Court of Queen's Bench Justice Basil Proulx. The Canadian Transport Commission (CTC) also began an investigation, as did Canadian National, owner and operator of the freight train. Critical to all three inquiries will be the testimony of conductor Wayne Smith, the only surviving crew member on the ill-fated freight train. Suffering from shock and emotional distress, Smith, 33, was at a maximum undergoing psychotherapy.

The accident occurred at 8:40 a.m. EST Saturday morning on a single track—only 20 m beyond an 18-km stretch of double track—200 km west of Edmonton. Before it collided with Via's No. 4 southeast Superintendant—with three locomotives, nine passenger cars and two steam-generating units—the westbound 114-car freight train ignored two sets of warning signals. The first, a yellow light over red,

alerted the train to prepare to stop. The second, only 42 km east of where the two trains converged, was a triple red signal, the railroads' standard instruction to stop.

But the freight, travelling at about 40 km/h, kept right on going. The force of the impact derailed 78 cars. Most of the 50 survivors were located in the passenger train's rear section. Some were thrown from bunks in sleeping cars and catapulted out of their seats. Others escaped through broken windows and holes in the carriages, leaving some passengers buried in the rubble. As car after car piled up on top of another, an explosive fire—fed by engine diesel fuel—engulfed the front sections of both trains. One survivor, Kenneth Oatley of Victoria, "I lived through the last week. I've been burned and mangled—gassed. But this was ticking."

The crash investigations focused on two areas: human error and mechanical failure. CTC investigators found nothing to suggest that the railway's sophisticated central traffic control system had malfunctioned. CN officials also said they were certain that the warning signals had not failed. The centralized system, in use for

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more than two years, includes a fault-finder computer that prevents a dispatcher from directing two trains on the same track simultaneously. So at week's end, a CN spokesman declared that human error had been responsible. Ross Walker, CN's senior vice-president for Western Canada, said the railway had decided to make that statement despite the anguish the trainmen's families might suffer. He added that the public's right to know outweighed that consideration.



RCMP officers remove victim, clearing rail safety

All three freight crew members—Hudson, 48, brakeman Edwards and conductor Smith, all of Jasper, Alta.—were in a position to see warning lights. All three could have braked the train. In fact, at Hudson's foot in the luxury model comfort cab was the brake pedal, known as the dead man's switch. That's a car's brake, an engineer must keep the pedal pushed against the floor or the train automatically brakes. Beside Hudson, brakeman Edwards sat near a red button that also could be used to stop the train. And a mile from the front end, in contact by radio, conductor Smith was under instructions to stop the train with an emergency brake if other crew members failed to head warning signals.

Last week CN announced that the re-

asons of the two dead trainmen would be tested for alcohol and drug content. News reports said that engineer Hudson was hospitalized last year and speculation of a drinking problem. The reports accused Hudson's daughter, Cheryl, who said her father had merely suffered a bowel blockage. Said the railway: "My father was in excellent health and when all this garbage is over he is going to show everyone who thought he was drinking."

Meanwhile, as trains begin running again on a temporary line built to skirt the debris, damage to machinery and cleanup costs were estimated at more than \$5 million. Legal claims are expected to push the final cost of the tragedy far higher. According to a joint agreement between CN and Via Rail, both separate Crown corporations, Via assumes financial responsibility for any accidents in which it is involved.

The Hudson disaster also renewed a muzzifying debate about rail safety in Canada. CN spokesmen insisted that its own safety record was the third-best among 25 major North American railroads. But according to CTS statistics, more than 300 derailments and 100 collisions occur in Canada each year. Just days after the Hudson crash a Canadian Pacific freight derailment near Perry Sound, Ont., dumped two cars containing sulfuric acid into an en-

gulfed lake that flows into Georgian Bay. And on Feb. 13, 25 people were injured when a Via passenger train derailed a stationer from just west of Quebec City. In Ottawa city official Keith Post blamed human error, adding that there was a significant similarity between the crash and the Alberta collision almost exactly one week earlier. For his part, Julian Luker, Ottawa professor and author of *The Railway Game: A study in Socio-technological Change*, argued last week that the government must act swiftly to modernize the safety of train travel. In the wake of the Hudson tragedy, Luker wrote, "We need more modern technology and better trained people on the tracks."

—JANE O'BRIEN in Ottawa

## A finding of murder

At the end of a trial marked by testimony about Hershman's multiple encounters with prostitutes and criminals and his expensive cocaine habit, the self-made millionaire showed no emotion last week when a Supreme Court of Ontario jury found him guilty of the 1984 murder of his wife. And when Judge John O'Driscoll asked the 46-year-old father of six if he had anything to say, Hershman replied in a halting voice, "Yes, my lord, I am not guilty of the charge." O'Driscoll then sentenced him to life in prison with no chance of parole for 25 years. But outside the St. Catharines, Ont., courtroom, defence lawyer Edward Greenspan announced that his client would appeal the verdict of the 56-day trial. Said Greenspan: "This was my round."

The jury of 10 men and two women deliberated for 12 hours over a case that began when 48-year-old Hannah Hershman was shot dead at the side of Highway 406, not far from the couple's home near London, Ont. Hershman told police that robbers had killed his wife, but his involvement in the crime because the trial's central issue. Drug dealer Robert (Squirrel) Barrett, now serving a 10-year sentence for conspiracy in criminal murder, testified that the young-brother owner, pronounced him at least \$25,000 to arrange the killing.

Hershman denied Barrett's account, but other witnesses disclosed details about the quiet entrepreneur's hedonistic life: a costly cocaine habit and his encounters with more than 100 prostitutes. Greenspan asked the jurors to ignore the sordid details of Hershman's life, arguing that Barrett had acted on his own. But O'Driscoll sided with Michael Martin, concentrated on the "unbelievable incompetence" in Hershman's account of the killing. He noted that on July 4, Hershman had stopped at the same spot on the highway on two separate occasions to help apparently stranded motorists. A police officer who delayed the murder trial that morning, Martin added, but Hershman succeeded that evening. O'Driscoll in his charge to the jury: "If you accept the Crown's evidence, he defamed her up, not only once but twice the same day to her executioners."

—KEVIN SCANLON with LINDA BEAMER in St. Catharines

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## The challenge



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To learn more about Canada's pulp and paper industry, write to Louis Fortier, Public Information Officer, Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, Sun Life Building, 23rd Floor, 1155 Metcalfe Street, Montreal, Que. H3B 2X9.

 The Pulp and Paper Industry of Canada

## PEOPLE

Officers of the Royal family are speculating that Prince Andrew, 26, and Sarah Ferguson, 26, will soon announce their engagement. But last week Queen Elizabeth's press secretary, Michael Shea, said that will not happen for at least five weeks. Andrew is on

board the Royal Mary frigate *Reuben* for a NATO exercise in the North Atlantic. Although he is scheduled to return around his birthday on Feb. 19, by that time the Queen will be abroad for a three-week tour in Nepal, New Zealand and Australia. And Shea said that present details that no royal engagement can be announced while the Queen is out of the country. Meanwhile Ferguson, who last week was accompanying Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales, on a rail holiday in Switzerland, is said to be introduced to Fleet Street's royal correspondents — indicating that she is anticipating her future role. Ferguson has already benefited from some expert coaching. While visiting the Bronx with Charles and Diana before Andrew's departure, she was taken aback by the presence of reporters. "I was advised, 'Don't worry. Just keep smiling'."

Although former Hamilton Tiger-Cats defensive

lineman Angelo Mosca, 35, retired from football in 1972, his optimistic agent has rehired him "The Canadian Refrigerator" after U.S. football superstar Brian (The Refrigerator) Perry, 33. But Mosca, unimpressed, says that he is the "Pass Refrigerator." He said that he prefers nicknames from his later career as a wrestler — King Kong, Big Ange and Big Nasty. Said Mosca, "They're synonymous with my style, which is hyper-aggressive." But Mosca has clearly mellowed. "Twenty-five years ago," he recalled, "I'd throw you into a bar lobby and ordered drinks as I don't do those kinds of things today." Now, he says, he feels more satisfaction in vigorous self-promotion—which proved to be productive recently when he obtained his first acting role. Mosca plays a thug in an

episode of CTV's *Night Heat*. But "at the end," he says, "I got killed."

From months ago Toronto's other and former Michele Landberg, 49, moved to New York to join her husband, Stephen Lewis, 48, Canada's ambassa-

der. Pollack expressed doubts about Africa's success. Before his Canadian premiere in Toronto on Dec. 23 last year, he said "With a picture like this, the audience is quiet—and you don't know whether they are loving it or hating it." Pollack, who had a smash hit with his



Sarah (left), shows a rumored engagement, a frigate named *Reuben* and an introduction to newspapering.

dur to the United Nations. Since then, says Landberg, she has eased comfortably into life as a diplomat's wife while pursuing her own career. Michele Landberg's *Guides to Children's Books* was published last week. But Landberg has also caused a stir in diplomatic circles by requesting that she be addressed

by her own name, even as formal invitations. "Usually invitations are addressed to The Honorable the ambassador and Mrs. Lewis," says Landberg. "The wife trots along behind, holding the family name." Landberg says that the Canadian embassy "decided to bite the bullet and refer to both our names on its invitations." Said Landberg, "I'm not expected to be a

blinking violet here. Or if I am, I've never noticed—so it's not a problem."

Of *Of Africa*, produced and directed by Rodney Pollack, 51, has been building up the film industry in the 1980s Academy Awards during the March 30 ceremonies. *Africa* tied with *The Color Purple* as the leading contender, with nominations in 13 categories, including best director. But sur-

prisingly, in 1983's *Africa*, said that he would like to do a comedy again. "It was a good feeling—and an unusual one for me—to know how an audience feels about a movie right away. When they start to laugh, you know you're okay."

—Edited by MARY REEVES

Pollack: loving or hating *Of Africa*.





General mass in Manila: It is certain that the people's real will for change has been manifested

## Marcos's spoiled victory

**T**he gambits that school through the San Jose de Bernalista town square last week were stark reminders of an uncertain future in the wake of the Philippine presidential election. As Emilio Javier, a local campaign manager for opposition candidate Corin (Cory) Aquino and a former governor of Antique province, said in the sun-drenched politics with French, two cars suddenly swarmed to a halt and men masked gunmen leaped out firing automatic rifles. Shaky, hit at least twice, escaped through alleys and hid in a backyard outhouse in the provincial capital. There, the assassins cornered and killed him.

Javier's murder was one of almost 30 similar killings reported during or since the Feb. 7 election. It occurred the day after the Batasang, or national assembly, convened to

Marcos victory reported in the preliminary—and suspect—vote count of the government's Commission on Elections (COMELEC). The mean Marcos supporters control about two-thirds of the Batasang's 300 seats.

Aquino and his supporters continued to claim victory. And the credibility of the president's lead had been un-



Graham: Marcos' assassinations and charges of fraud

dermined further when 38 COMELEC register technicians walked off the job and said that they were being forced to falsify the returns in the president's favor. Other indications of electoral fraud continued to surface as well in Manila—an Aquino stronghold—only 2.5 million official votes were tabulated, even though the city had 43 million registered voters. And in the Turtle Islands in the southern

Philippines, Marcos received 1,128 votes—even though the islands had only 88 registered voters.

In California, President Ronald Reagan said on the weekend that widespread fraud and violence during the election had been carried out mainly by Marcos's supporters. He added, "It was so extreme that the election's credibility has been called into question both within the Philippines and in the United States." His statement made no reference to the possibility of wrongdoing by Aquino supporters and it seemed to reject the findings of members of the 30-strong U.S. observer team that had monitored the election. Said Richard McCall, an aide to Senator John Kerry, one of the observers, "The ability of the opposition to pull off any fraud was just nil." And in Ottawa, Canadian Senator Alexander Graham, one of 48 members of an international observer team that started balloting in 300 municipalities, said that Marcos had the means to rig the election. Added Graham: "We earned out the deal."

The U.S. state department instructed Ambassador Stephen W. Bosworth in Manila to assure Aquino that the United States was not taking sides. And Reagan dispatched veteran diplomat troubleshooter Philip Habib to

the Asian archipelago "to assess the desires and needs of the Filipino people." Earlier in the week Reagan ordered many Filipinos when he appeared in Manila both sides for election fraud. Some of them declared that the United States was more concerned with buying its two military bases north of Manila than with the country's welfare. Luis Beltrán, editor of the opposition *Philippines Daily Inquirer*, for one, wrote that Reagan's remarks reinforced "a suspicion that he would not mind if Marcos transferred the country into a cemetery—as long as he had landing rights."

Meanwhile, even before the Beltrán's proclamation of the official result, protests spread through the streets. Aquino's supporters chanted "Cory Aquino is our president" as they escorted Javier's corpse through Manila to a funeral mass for the ex-governor at a suburban soccer stadium. Mockers applied the reading of a statement issued by the Catholic Bishops' Conference that challenged Marcos's claim to victory. Despite the corruption of the results, the bishops declared, "It is surely certain that the people's real will for change has been manifested. A government that assumes or maintains power through fraudulent means has no moral basis."

At the same time, the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church—which claims the allegiance of 98 per cent of the country's 44 million people—called for a nonviolent struggle for "justice." Aquino had said the would lead daily protest demonstrations, beginning with a rally in Manila on Sunday, but Bishop Teodoro Diociano said that a campaign of civil disobedience was an alternative to demonstrations that could become violent. He added: "The anger of the people is already smoldering. They have now seen how evil the government machine has become."

The opposition National Bureau majority leader Arturo Padilla for Javier's murder—and other Marcos supporters for the killing two days later of Aquino campaign worker Antonio Canigao, who was shot by four hooded men in front of his house in Tarlac, Aquino's home province. At week's end, Aquino spokesmen also reported the deaths of eight more opposition workers, three of them women who had been raped, then beheaded or burned. Despite the mounting attacks, many Filipinos insisted that the struggle has resulted in what one opposition newspaper called an "election of courage" to resist the 30-year Marcos presidency. But the issue for Filipinos at week's end was whether courage alone could or must take the course of the mighty Marcos machine.

—MARCOSS-SEE in Manila



Army police in Paris-as-Prince: after celebrations the supporters despoiled

HAITI

## Surveying the wreckage

**R**esidents in the northern town of Grande Rivière du Nord, where Haiti's new leader, Lt. Gen. Benoit Nanquay, spent his first 22 years, remember him as a shy postmaster with a stammer. Later, his freemasonry, the steady 10-year-old Nanquay, commander of the country's armed forces since 1984, was last known for his fondness for Johnny Walker Black Label Scotch. And in the first days of power, Nanquay and the 30-member National Council that has governed Haiti since the Feb. 7 fight to oust ex-dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier have seemed to many like liberators. They undertook to hold free elections, released 36 political prisoners, dissolved the widely feared paramilitary force the Tonton Macoutes and requested media outlets closed by Duvalier last month.

Still, some Haitians were skeptical. Organizers of a mass march through the town of Gonaïves last week distributed pamphlets charging that the country's new government has "been infiltrated by men of the past, former ministers who walked in all the crimes of that regime." In fact, some called for the removal of two members of the new junta—Alce Gosses, minister of public works under Duvalier, and Col. Prosper Armand, head of Duvalier's now-disbanded presidential guard of about 80, who said last week that returns of the 35,000 member Tonton Macoutes "will be accepted into the army if they fulfill the conditions of normal citizens."

There was also a possibility that Duvalier, 50—disbanded last week in an elegant and well-guarded hotel in the Las Arroyo district of France—might try to return to the country of 6 million, which he ruled for 14 years with as cruel but after the death of his tyrannical father in 1971. France admitted Duvalier briefly for an eight-day period to allow him time to find a permanent country of exile. Though French government sources said they would not allow him to take up residence in one of three homes in the country, six other countries refused to accept him. When Liberia was reported ready to admit him, Duvalier's French lawyer, Sylvain Vasse, said that his client was "not interested in going there—he is only interested in staying in France or going back to Haiti."

And at week's end, the initial euphoria in Haiti had dissipated. In a country where a Canadian study shows that 78 per cent of all children suffer from malnutrition and half of all Haitians are unemployed, many seemed to doubt that they will escape from their rock-bottom poverty. Dejected 35-year-old street vendor Jean Louis, a father of four: "The revolution was the greatest day of my life. But still I want find a way to feed my family." For many Haitians, that remains their greatest challenge.

—AMBERLY WALTON-SMITH and JUDITH MARINICH in Paris-as-Prince and Grande Rivière

# Shcharansky's defiant walk to freedom

In the brilliant morning sunshine East German soldiers swept away the stars covering the hole while he across the middle of five-gated Glienke Bridge, which marks the border between East and West Berlin. A small yellow van, escorted by one police car, waited at the red-and-white barricade on the East German side of the bridge. Forty minutes later a blue Mercedes sedan belonging to the U.S. ambassador in West Germany arrived at the Western barricade. Then, wearing an orange overcoat and baggy pants held together with pins, Anatoly Shcharansky stepped out of the van and walked across the line to freedom. In Moscow Shcharansky's 77-year-old mother, Ida Milgrom, cried, "Tolya [Shcharansky's nickname] is free, God Almighty, Tolya is free."

The dramatic release of Shcharansky—the 38-year-old computer specialist who, after nine years in Soviet prisons, had become a symbol of the fight for human rights in the Soviet Union—was the centerpiece of an intricately staged prisoner exchange. Held in East Berlin after he was seized in the ambassador's car five people convicted or suspected of spying for the Warsaw Pact nations in the United States and West Germany were exchanged for three men imprisoned for espionage in the Soviet Union. The release of Shcharansky marked the end of a nine-year worldwide campaign, and it was the most visible result of last November's Geneva summit talks between President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Reagan's request for his release was aided by the efforts of Shcharansky's wife, Aysel, 34, who had not seen her husband since emigrating to Israel the day after their marriage in 1974. Within hours of the exchange the Shcharanskys were reunited in Frankfurt and the couple flew to Jerusalem. When they arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport, a rabbi said to Shcharansky, "Blessed is God who remembers the dead."

Relations among them 29 cousins in Canada—and supporters focused for the activist's life from the time of his Moscow arrest in 1977. The following year Shcharansky was convicted of treason, espionage and anti-Soviet activities and sentenced to 13 years in



Shcharansky on Glienke Bridge: "I was never an American spy"

prison and labor camps. His wife and her Montreal lawyer, Irwin Ceder, worked incessantly to obtain his release. Meanwhile, his time in prison—marked by two long hunger strikes—may have compromised Shcharansky's health. Doctors in Jerusalem last week reported that he suffers from a weak heart lesion and neurological problems caused by severe malnutrition.



With wife, Aysel, resuming a honeymoon

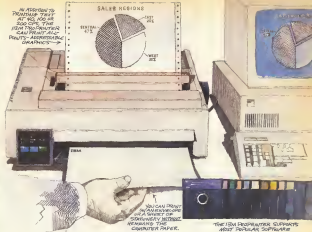
At the time of his arrest, while active in the Soviet dissident movement and an outspoken advocate of the rights of Soviet Jews to emigrate, Shcharansky denied charges that he was a spy for the Central Intelligence Agency. Soviet authorities claimed that he had obtained state secrets at the Oil and Gas Research Institute in Moscow where he worked and passed them on to the United States. But as he remarked in a telephone conversation with Reagan

last week, "As you know very well, I was never an American spy."

State department officials said that Shcharansky's mother and 39-year-old brother, Leonid, may be allowed to join him soon in Israel. But in South Africa last week government spokesmen announced that jailed black leader Nelson Mandela, 67, earlier mentioned by Prime Minister P.W. Botha as a possible figure in a swap involving Shcharansky, would not be freed after all. The reason, Mandela did not give up a captured South African officer and Moscow did not release another prominent dissident, Andrei Sakharov. Last week Gorbachev said that the 64-year-old scientist would not be freed because of his knowledge of the country's nuclear weapons development.

Many Jews around the world, cheered by Shcharansky's release, said that the action did not signal a new Soviet policy. Western Jewish groups estimate that 850,000 of the 1.7 million Jews in the Soviet Union want to emigrate. But just 78,000 were allowed to leave in January, the lowest number since last August. Said Shcharansky, who is continuing the honeymoon interrupted nine years ago: "I hope that the joy that fills our hearts today will help us to continue the struggle for the freedom and the rights of our brothers in Russia."

—BRIAN GLAVIN with NEIL JOHNSON in Jerusalem



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## LIBYA

## A test of wills



Muammar Gaddafi

A war of nerves between the United States and Libya, which Washington accuses of harboring terrorists and interfering with its neighbors, intensified last week as ships of the U.S. Sixth Fleet sailed into the southern Mediterranean for the second time in two weeks. U.S. officials reported numerous encounters between Libyan planes and U.S. F-14s and F-16 carrier-based jets during four days of air and sea operations off Libya. Still, no shots were fired, and U.S. ships stayed outside a symbolic "line of death" drawn by Libyan leader Col. Muammar Gaddafi across the Gulf of Sidra. Tripoli blames the gulf as Libyan waters, and Washington says it is international. At the same time, 1,600 km south in Chad, Libyan troops attacked and killed against the forces of President Hissène Habré. The assaults—which began a 2½-year truce between Libyan-backed rebels in the north and government troops in the south—provoked a formal request by Habré for a return of French soldiers to the former central African colony.

## UNITED STATES

## Arrow's crash

Citing mounting financial problems after the Dec. 12 crash of its charter DC-8 in Gander, Nfld., which claimed 236 lives, Arrow Air Inc. last week filed for reorganization under U.S. bankruptcy law. As the Miami-based carrier laid off 40 of its 200 employees, company spokesmen blamed unbelievable publicity and unwarranted government actions for its problems. The spokesman claimed that adverse news coverage of Canada's worst air disaster on Canadian soil had "seriously affected advanced bookings in both scheduled and charter service." And following recent charges by the U.S. Federal Aviation Administration that the carrier was using unauthorized spare parts in 10 of its planes, the Pentagon suspended Arrow charter contracts worth \$12 million. The Newfoundland accident occurred just moments after the Arrow DC-8—carrying 150 U.S. soldiers from a six-month tour with the multinational peacekeeping force in the Sinai Peninsula—took off from Gander International Airport in freezing Arctic haze for Fort Campbell, Ky. So far, Canadian investigators, despite an exhaustive inquiry, have not determined the cause of the crash.

## NICARAGUA

## An elusive peace

In the most formidable diplomatic challenge yet to President Ronald Reagan's support of anti-government insurgents, at present, in Nicaragua, eight Latin American foreign ministers last week traveled to Washington promoting a new regional peace initiative. Known as the Caralibbada message, it has been endorsed by Latin American states, the European Economic Community and Japan. The peace plan calls for the gradual removal of all foreign military advisors and bases in

Central America, an end to support of guerrilla armies and respect for self-determination and territorial sovereignty. Underlined, Reagan reaffirmed his intention last week to ask Congress for up to \$100 million in aid for the cracker-backed contra later this month. Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government received another setback when Amnesty International—citing "a pattern of intimidation and harassment" against political opponents—published a report critical of the Sandinistas' human rights record.

## SWEDEN

## Exposing secret studies

Since the 18th century Sweden has employed a unique church-register system to document individuals' lives from birth to death. Now, about 600 government data banks contain personal information about education, health, taxes and military records on Sweden's 8.3 million people. Most Swedes accept the record-keeping as the price of maintaining Europe's most complete social welfare state. But last week two Stockholm newspapers shocked many Swedes with the disclosures that, for more than 80 years, Stockholm University researchers have been compiling files on a sample of about 15,000 unsuspecting citizens born in 1953. The project—code named Metropolit—kept computer records on virtually every aspect of their lives, including sexual problems, drinking habits and brushes with the law. But in defense of Metropolit, researcher Ann-Marie Jansson reacted to the ensuing public outcry by saying, "We just want to see how things are for people in life."

## SOUTH AFRICA

## Questioning reform



P.W. Botha

The retrospective of South African President P.W. Botha's proposed reform of apartheid—the creation of a national advisory council—suffered a demoralizing blow last week from an unlikely quarter. Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, leader of the nation's biggest ethnic group, the six million Zulus in the tribal homeland of KwaZulu, accused the president of winking at the black majority and refused to participate in the new body, which may leave Botha's planned reforms stillborn. Others grained as a moderate black leader by Pretoria and seen by South Africa's white business leaders as a central figure in the country's quest for a solution to racial problems, Buthe had suddenly welcomed Botha's Jan. 31 pledge in parliament to overhaul discriminatory laws. But after Botha publicly reprimanded Foreign Minister Rieff (Pik) Botha for suggesting that the recently free country might one day have a black president, the Zulu chief last week questioned the president's sincerity. "I am many others and the state president's opening address to parliament represented a courageous break from the past," said Buthe. "But the state president's outburst gives us reason to believe that he has not told South Africa where he is leading the country simply because if he did so it would be totally unacceptable to blacks."

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# The Power establishment

**T**he executives working in the well-oiled offices of Power Corp. of Canada's Montreal headquarters, they are equally known as "Paul" and "Andy." But that informality obscures the true status of the two sons of Power's chairman and chief executive officer, Paul Desmarais Jr. 31, and his brother Andre, 29, are among Canada's wealthiest businessmen. And when their lineage under their father and Power's professional managers is completed, the brothers will assume control of a corporate empire with an estimated worth of \$1.5 billion that includes profitable financial institutions and a vast communications network. Said Michel Bédard, president of the National Bank of Canada and a longtime board member of Power: "Paul is carefully bringing his boys into the business in a style akin to an old type of family firm."

Leaders at Power say that Paul Desmarais, 36, has spent the past two years refining the activities of the company in a way that his sons can use day smoothly succeed him at the helm. A past master of high-profile reverse takeovers, Desmarais has instead concentrated on behind-the-scenes reorganization. The retirement of Power's Montreal Trust, for one, was reversed because the company was posting unsatisfactory results. And in 1985 he sold two million of his shares in Power for nearly \$40 million, reducing his voting control to 51 per cent from 69.9 per cent. Observers speculate that Desmarais sold the shares in order to pay off debt on his private holdings.

Desmarais has also regrouped Power's interests into two distinct areas for each of his sons—both of whom declined to be interviewed by *Mc-*

*lean's* Paul Jr. is a vice-president and director of Power Financial Corp., a holding company, created in 1984 to bring together Power's trust, insurance and mutual fund companies under one corporate banner. Andre's responsibilities are focused on Power's

debt in Winnipeg. Power executives are sensitive about possible targets, but they say that they are only interested in friendly acquisitions. Said one Power executive, "Hostile takeovers are not our style."

If Power does add significant new



Desmarais, Power Corp. headquarters (right): a self-made man and sons who can take control

growing communications arm, which includes the prestigious Montreal daily newspaper *La Presse*, three other dailies and eight weekly newspapers in Quebec.

At the same time, the business world is speculating on what the St.-Benoît-born Desmarais—a former business owner who emerged as one of Canada's new self-made millionaires when he took control of Power in 1968—will buy next. The company is sitting on a large pool of idle capital, it has \$48 million in working capital available, and its month six officers expect an issue of preferred shares that will bring it an additional \$300 million. "They are quite likely to build on their financial services side but exactly where is the crucial question" said Thomas Bradley, a financial analyst for Richardson Greenstadius of Cana-

da, which has always been a widely held public company, and in 1981 he purchased his interest. Until the recent sale, Desmarais was C's second largest single shareholder. His attempt at control may have been defeated in large part by Senator Ken Sirois, head of C from 1966 to 1984.

More signifi-ly, in March, 1984, Desmarais formed a new subsidiary, Power Financial Corp., under which he grouped Power's financial holdings. Great-West Life Assurance Co., Montreal Trust Co., The Investors Group and Power's interest in Progress Holdings S.A., a European investment company. Together, they administered assets of about \$60 billion. Indeed, Power was the first holding company to recognize the usefulness of propping precariously serviced financial institutions under one corporate umbrella. But some ana-

lysts say that it was slow to exploit the potential by cross-selling their different products and services to customers. Now, Power Financial tries to re-coordinate the sales efforts of its various companies, but competition has intensified from other financial networks, such as Bradford-nutted Trillix Financial Corp. of Toronto.

Some business observers say they were puzzled by Desmarais' most significant move last year: the sale in June of his 50-per-cent share in Canadian Pacific Ltd. (CP) for \$211 million. When he was 31 and a university student, Desmarais wrote a paper on how an individual could take control

to himself or anybody else."

The setback has not deterred Desmarais from expanding his media empire. Last September, Desmarais made a controversial \$97.5-million offer to purchase 706-Métropole Inc., the largest privately owned French-language television network in North America. Because Power already owns several media outlets—and controls a total of 121 corporations, according to Statistics Canada—the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission will convene public hearings into the proposed purchase on March 17. The CRTC, headed by chairman Andre Bureau, who left his posi-



gradually dismantling his day-to-day involvement in the operations, renders his role as a media player, he is spending less time in Power's Montreal office, often working by telephone from his retreat at Murray Bay, Que., or his palatial country estate in Palm Beach, Fla. But so serious are the stakes may be Desmarais to think of Desmarais as particularly retired.

In fact, Desmarais, well-known as a generous host, still considers himself to be a leader between the political and business communities and has carefully cultivated his links to the political world. In 1984 Brian Mulroney attended the wedding of Desmarais' daughter Sophie, and Desmarais was a guest at the rehashing last fall of Mulroney's son Nicolas' last month in a dinner in Toronto attended by his close friend Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa. Desmarais accepted an invitation to sit on an advisory board to Hydro-Quebec. And although Desmarais has always had strong Liberal party connections, he supported both of Mulroney's campaigns for the Progressive Conservative leadership.

As well, the Power board of directors is laced with prominent political figures. Last year former Ontario premier William Davis joined Power's board, and Senator Michael Pitfield, former head of the Privy Council, now spends two-thirds of his working days at Power, where he is a director and vice-chairman of the board. As well, John Rax, a Power vice-president and the brother of Ontario NDP leader Bob Rae, organized Jean Chrétien's unsuccessful 1984 leadership campaign.

At the same time, Paul Jr. and Andre are building corporate connections of their own. Such contacts began meetings with the company's lawyers. Paul is on the board of Power Financial and Andre joined the board of Bombardier Inc. in January. But Power executives point out that Desmarais is not a political decision at the company he built. "Paul is a superb entrepreneur controlling a family-owned company," said Sirois. "There is a different kind of culture that governs a family firm compared with that at the Bell Canada and the banks." Adds Bradley: "It is impossible to know what Power is going to do next because Desmarais keeps everything so close to the vest." The succession appears to have been arranged, but so too at Power is about to intensify. Said Desmarais, "Paul has always been a dynamo. He may have changed his style, but he is still a dynamo."

—RICHIE WALLACE in Montreal

Smaller as brother





Courier putting the pressure on full-service firms to justify higher costs

## The no-frills brokers

The publicity was more typical of the opening of a new shoe store than that of a stockbroker's office. First, there was a flurry of advertisements in local newspapers and on radio. Then, last week Edward Kugel, vice-president of sales for Gardiner Stockbrokers Group Inc. of Toronto, officially opened Hamilton's first discount brokerage office in a renovated store sandwiched between a butcher shop and a hearing-aid dispenser in a downtown shopping arcade. Beneath a window banner proclaiming a "Grand Opening," Kugel chatted with curious shoppers and other workers on their lunch breaks, selling the benefits of no-frills services offered by discount brokers. By the end of the day he had gained several new accounts and the office had sent its first orders to Gardiner traders on the Toronto Stock Exchange floor.

The success of that opening reflects the surge in popularity currently being enjoyed by Canada's young discount brokers. And Gardiner's unorthodox storefront location underscores the changes that discount brokers are forcing on an otherwise staid industry. After a shaky start in 1983, discounters now have almost 5% per cent of the \$65-billion individual investor market. And many analysts say that the fight to take away business from established brokerage houses is just starting.

In the United States, where discounters have operated since 1975,

they have now gained 30 per cent of the retail market. Most observers say that discount brokers will ultimately capture about 30 per cent of the retail trade in both countries. Said Lawrence Rosenberg, president of discount Manhattan Brown & Co. of Toronto, "The potential for growth is tremendous."

The appeal is basic—they can save investors 50 per cent to 80 per cent on commissions charged for the purchase of stocks, options and mutual funds. The discounters can afford to take those cuts by eliminating the perks offered by the large firms—plush offices, sophisticated sales teams and highly trained analysts who evaluate stocks and advise customers. Their only job is to execute the buy and sell orders of clients.

Said Stanley Dewhurst, president of Gardiner Group: "The client now has the opportunity to decide how much that advice is worth to him." Indeed, the discount brokerage industry is based on the growing number of sophisticated private investors who feel no need for a broker's advice. Studies prepared for discounters

showed that 40 per cent of investors in discount investment inc. of Montreal said that its clientele is generally younger and more self-sufficient than that of full-service brokers. The research also suggests that women continue to prefer the advice of a traditional broker. Still, the competition from discount brokers has put pressure on full-service brokers to justify the cost of that advice. As a result, larger firms have begun offering increasingly sophisticated services that include guidance on taxes and insurance.

The emergence of discount brokers was made possible by a regulatory change instituted three years ago. On April 1, 1983, provincial regulators outlawed the decades-old tradition of fixed commissions for brokerage services. Five discounters quickly entered the market. At first, skeptical investors squealed discounting with second-rate service. But last year's booming stock market led many investors to use the new system.

Three of the original brokers have survived. Manhattan Brown, with 10,000 clients and branches across the country, Gardiner Group, with more than 8,000 clients and offices in Toronto, Calgary, Vancouver and Hamilton, and Doran, which, with 7,000 clients, dominates the discount market in Quebec. Two banks—the Toronto Dominion and the Royal—also offer discount services, as well as Guardian Trust of Montreal. But under existing regulations they must still execute their trade through a licensed broker.

The success of the new brokers could lead to a thorough reshaping of the industry. The half-dozen giant full-service operations—such as Dominion Securities Prithell Ltd. and Wood Gundy Inc.—will likely survive, serving

large institutional investors and underwriting most new stock issues. But the pressure is on mid-sized, full-service brokers, such as Midland Delort Ltd. and Walwyn Stadelger Cochran Murray Ltd., both of Toronto, which maintain extensive and expensive branch networks to serve private investors. With discounters attracting those clients, they will likely be forced to develop specialized niches in the market. "It's not as if we try to be all things to all people, they are in trouble," said Rosenberg. "They are already under pressure."

—MARC CLARK in Toronto

Rosenberg sees potential



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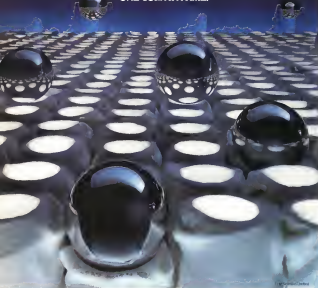
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## An aggressive company changes course

**F**or many Canadians, the familiar blue-and-white signs of Toronto-based Consumers' Distributing Co. Ltd. signal bargain prices for everything from toys to jewelry. And the man behind the logo, Consumers' colorful founder, Jack Stapp, has become a Canadian retailing legend. A former door-to-door salesman with a red-tinted interest for men, chairman, Stapp built the catalogue showrooms chain from a one-store operation started in a Toronto basement in 1966 to a \$1-billion giant, with 353 outlets in Canada and 336 in the United States. But on Feb. 7 the 59-year-old millionaire abruptly resigned from his position as chairman and chief executive officer.

Stapp lost control of Consumers last July, when he and his family sold their 33-per-cent stake in the company to Provigo Inc., the Montreal-based retail and food distribution conglomerate, for \$12 million. According to Lloyd Fegler, a Consumers' director, one of the reasons that Stapp sold his shares was because "nobody in the family was seeing into the business." Provigo's aggressive chairman, Pierre Lortie, the 39-year-old former president of the Montreal Exchange, swiftly consolidated his hold. With his company holding seven of the 13 positions on Consumers' board of directors, Lortie pressed for dramatic changes in accounting methods and for a shift from Stapp's entrepreneurial style of management.

For his part, Stapp tried to collaborate with Lortie on such projects as opening Consumers' outlets in Europe. But Michael Halberstam, Consumers' president, told *Maclean's* that Lortie had given Stapp "virtually none of his time" since the takeover. According to Halberstam, Stapp resigned when it became apparent that he no longer had a role to play. Said Jean-Claude Merind, a Provigo executive vice-president: "We decided to go with Michael Halberstam." But Stapp was also tired and suffering from arthritis, according to friends and associates.

Under Lortie's control, Consumers will expand in some areas—and retreat in others. To increase sales, Provigo has



Stapp's merchandising master stage shows

opened 26 new Consumers' catalogue order desks next month in Provigo supermarkets and Proxi-Sun convenience stores in Quebec. If the test succeeds, the order desks will be expanded across Canada through other chains that Provigo controls.

More dramatic changes are likely in the chain's U.S. division, which last year lost about \$4 million as sales of \$430 million Provigo's Merano and that the Montreal retailer favors selling the division's 74 West Coast stores and concentrating on the more profitable eastern outlets. But some analysts contend that Lortie should sell the U.S. division altogether because Consumers is being pushed to new ware-

house stores and other discount retailers that are selling heavily discounted name-brand goods.

Provigo's managers also have to solve technical operational problems. Consumers' new \$7.6-million computerized distribution system malfunctioned last fall, hampering delivery to stores and cutting the chain's millions of dollars in lost sales during the crucial pre-Christmas period. At the same time, Provigo has inherited a legacy of labor problems at Consumers' Toronto warehouse. For one thing, tensions arose in 1985 after the company hired temporary non-union workers while union members were on strike. Then, last June Revenue Canada fined the company \$125,000 for paying more than \$250,000 to a local Teamsters union official, Sean Floyd. According to reports, the payment was in return for a guaranteed labor peace. For his part, Halberstam denies that this was the purpose of the payment—but he would not elaborate.

Four months later, according to family friends, Stapp and his family began receiving threats of physical violence if he did not pay \$150,000 to Floyd and John Rodgers of Northern Ireland. Following police instructions, Stapp met the men. Subsequently, police charged Floyd and Rodgers with extortion. A preliminary hearing will be held next month in Toronto.

Freed from his corporate responsibilities, Stapp still faces his own formidable legal problems. In 1979 the Metropolitan Toronto Police found squad charged Stapp, Gordon Waples, president of Standard Securities Ltd., and Allen Mann, a Toronto stock promoter, with allegedly pushing up Consumers' stock through prearranged and matched orders in 1978. During that year the price of the stock rose as high as \$18.60 from \$5.12. Following the charges the stock plunged to about \$3. After countless procedural delays, the case is still mired at the preliminary hearing level.

Stapp retired at least \$600,000 as a settlement when he resigned last week, as a holiday in the United States, he was investigating new investment opportunities. And despite his tangles with the law, Stapp still has a place among Canada's great business men. He is the son of Edward Greenough. "You can take Stapp to Taiwan and show him four lawn chairs and he will pick the one that will sell."

—ANN RAMSLEY in Toronto



# The thinking of a property king

By Peter C. Newman

**E**ddy Copin is one of those uncommon creatures who meets at or near the pinnacle of the Canadian real estate business without casting much of a shadow. Although he has topped commercial and residential real estate worth at least \$5 billion a year during the past decade for customers who have included the three world's leading property players, he cultivates a deliberately evasive and enigmatic persona.

Interviewing Copin, at his downtown Toronto headquarters—a modernistic lair in which almost everything seems to be covered in purple rhinoceros hide—can be disconcerting. His open scepticism, rather than, meeting the visitor's going rate instead of weighing his questions. He has a habit of naming platitudes like a golfer who holds his pose after a good swing.

"I do a lot of deals for Hanscom, the second-largest property company in the U.K. and for Edward Deloitte, who owns more shopping centre footage than anybody in the world," he enigmatically struts his Pope-in-the-balcony stance. Then, with a shrug, switches to a theoretical law griot. "Sure, I handle a lot of stuff," he says. "People pay me a lot to run a market."

At the moment, Copin is in the middle of what could be his most controversial and most public deal: the reorganization of the 36 parcels of real estate on which stand 66 apartment buildings and 514 townhouse units that were bought in 1982 by Lenox-Rosenberg's Geosync Credit Corp. That original transaction was the first in a round of flips that escalated the value of the properties to an astronomical half-a-billion dollars as they were shopped through three trust companies. When the Ontario government moved in and seized the trusts from first—Greynax, Seavay and Crown—Ottawa's Canada Deposit Insurance Corp. was put on the line for the sure then \$800 million that it had to pay out as compensation to the depositors in the face of subordinated trust firms when the province's only trust company, Clarkson Gordon Inc., the court-appointed receiver, has now moved to sell off the apartment units, and Copin has emerged as the exclusive real estate consultant in the huge transaction.

It was Copin, during the 1980s, who did the original land assembly for most of these properties for Cadillac Fairview Corp., turning them into at least \$1 billion. When Cadillac sold them to Rosenbergs, Copin's net amounted to \$2.7 million. Now, he stands to double that betasize to a cool \$5 million. The Supreme Court of Ontario, which placed Clarkson in control of the properties, has already approved the sale. An exclusive sales agent, Copin also claims a three-per-cent gross commission in any of the



Copin's an expert on rent controls.

units converted to condominiums. If the buildings are sold in rental units, his share drops to one per cent. Not necessarily, he is busy selling tenants on the benefits of being owners instead of renters.

In the process, he has let as a formula that has natural implications—a workable method, if applied across the country, that could counter the deterioration of apartment buildings brought about by rent control regulations. The problem is that because funds for capital improvements cannot be secured, rent-

landlords are allowing their premises to crumble.

In his attempt to market the huge stock of Toronto apartments, Copin has come up with a plan that would allow existing tenants to convert their apartments into condominiums. They would be able to buy their units at well below market value and be guaranteed continued occupancy as well as gaining the pride that comes with ownership. The switch would be voluntary and any tenants who wanted to keep renting would get lifetime tenure. Their apartments would be fitted out with new appliances and they would be guaranteed as more than a four-per-cent rent increase for the next five years. On top of that, the new condominium owners and the current landlords would contribute up to \$4 million per apartment building for maintenance and repairs.

The Copin formula is causing a furore among Toronto's municipal politicians, because if he carried it to its logical conclusion it would threaten controls. The city fathers recently rejected the Copin proposal by a narrow margin, reaffirming their standing policy that apartment buildings should not be converted into condominiums until the local vacancy rate reaches 2.5 per cent. But that was only a first round.

"It's now up to the people to deal with the politicians," says Copin. "If the politicians tell them to go to hell, we'll sell the buildings."

That is no idle threat. The real estate block has already been advertised in *The Wall Street Journal*, and with the Canadian dollar at its current level the buildings are a good bargain for some international financier anxious to shelter his fortune in a safe, profitable haven. "We've created a market," says Copin. "We're getting here."

Copin's motives may be selfish but in the age of self-sufficient entrepreneurs he has hit on an important truth: that apartment conversion may be the only road to lease ownership for most urbanites.

Rightly or not of the instant Copin has been narrowing agree to the plan "We're not buying people," he claims. "We're just showing them the opportunities and they're responding."

Then Copin adds the kicker: "Listen. Rent controls came in with the power of the people. They're going to go with the power of the people. There's a no other solution."

CTV

NEWS

BUDGET '86



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# Putting corruption into context

By George Bain

Little in the winter of 1965-66 I gave Billy Fraser, Moscov's Ottawa editor, a lift from the Parliament Buildings. On the way, we talked about the latest in the series of scandals that had been shaking the Liberal government of Lester Pearson for more than a year—a "writer of scandalous scandals," Richard Byrd called them in his book *The Shape of Scandal*. "The Tories had better watch out," Fraser said. The Liberals have on us then that will make all these look the smoking if they ever let it go." I never doubted he knew what he was talking about: Fraser had excellent connections in the Liberal party, in the cabinet, actually with the Prime Minister himself and with the always extraordinarily well-informed Jack Pickersgill, then transport minister.

For more than a year the Liberals had been hit by a scandal that a coded phrase on Nov. 25, 1964, made Byrd's ear lobbed into the House of Commons the first damning fact of what came to be known as the Shird Affair. A former executive assistant to a Liberal minister was accused of driving a \$50,000 Volvo to get paid for a drug smuggler, Lucien Rivard, who was about to be extradited to the United States. The parliamentary secretary to the Prime Minister himself and two executive assistants to the justice minister had also been found out by the attorney general, Edgar (who later resigned). Within a week RCMP Commissioner George McCallum was called to the Prime Minister's office and asked if the Cdn. possessed a man involving any person in the past 10 years.

The result, a life on an affair four years earlier between Conservative Associate Defence Minister Pierre Sévigny and a Corsican woman, Gerda Munster. On Dec. 4, 1964, Pearson sent opposition leader John Diefenbaker a letter that he particularly mentioned simply a request to know what he had done about this. Read as a Diefenbaker move, how could it be carried a whiff of blackmail?

Although the Munster affair had not been used in the winter of 1965-66, another had been returned to the 1960. In the circumstances, it would be naive to believe (a) that the government had not known exactly what it was looking for when it asked the user con-

sider for cases, (b) that the Prime Minister, when he wrote Diefenbaker, was not using the information in hope of gagging the opposition, and (c) that when the Munster story was spread in March, 1966, it was not springing details not well-known—with value shrewdly kept: Peter C. Newman wrote in *The Outrigger of Our Times* in 1968, "Details of Gerda Munster's sex life were hardly more edifying for the fact that they were aired through the deliberate disclosure of confidential secret files on the private lives of Conservative ministers—that the whole episode was, in brief, a wilful act of political vengeance."

It was precisely in March, 1966, that Erik Nielsen intended in his Liberal campaign. He told broadcast-writer Peter Starbuck about it on tape in 1959. Starbuck related Nielsen's account of the Liberal caucus of March 9, 1966, as

**What coverage of the Nielsen Affair, so called, revealed is that, with few exceptions, the media have almost no memory**

one of four books on the Pearson Diefenbaker years called *Cynicalism: Leadership Lost*. For instance, there was this snippet about a speech by Associate Defence Minister Leo Colwell: "He delivered one of the most violent attacks on the Conservative party generally, and upon Diefenbaker and myself in particular, that I have ever heard. This was followed by great applause and he obviously had won the Liberal caucus for several minutes."

Rensberg is surprised the Liberals 20 years later have made an issue of this, and thanks the last thing they would have wanted would have been any inquiry that re-emphasized the scandal of that session. Yet the Rivard affair had been a political scandal in the classic sense of corruption. So had been the case of the minister without portfolio, Yves Dupuis, who resigned—and was later tried—for influence peddling.

There had been the inconsequential farmers scandal and the overblown sensitive of a Vancouver postal clerk, George Victor Spencer, a cancer patient whose alleged spring for the Soviets included giving them names of tank-

sters. But, as also recounted by Starbuck in *Lester Pearson and the Dream of Unity*, there was a never-forgotten Affair des Six, the contracted defection of six Social Crediters to the Liberal side that enabled Pearson to form a government in 1963—and produced allegations that in at least some of the six cases money had changed hands. Just the thing, *The Shape of Scandal*, *The Outrigger of Our Times* accurately reflected the period.

What the coverage of the recent Nielsen Affair, so-called, revealed is that the media have almost no memory. With few exceptions—a notable one, Douglas Fisher, who did witness an what he calls "Liberal lunch"—there was almost no attempt to place the theme reported in context. Given that 60 per cent of our population is 30 years of age and under, context is important to any understanding of events 20 to 25 years ago, events too old to be recent affairs, too new to be history. The story was one-dimensional. The original Toronto Star story by David Vancura mentioned the Munster and Spencer affairs but did not examine the parliamentary climate. Also, his first story spoke of a "startling revelation—which Nielsen wanted to be kept secret." That left out of account that Nielsen himself spoke openly about his having listened in on Liberal caucuses in a January, 1965, cover story in *Saturday Night* and that the Starbuck tapes were disclosed only after Dec. 31, 1968—not at Nielsen's instance but at Starbuck's, he wanted to get all four of the Diefenbaker-Pearson books out before others got access to his research.

Most of the recent reporting was not only unfair, but shallow. Even when Nielsen himself drew attention to the *Saturday Night* article ("What the Nielsen affair revealed," said one positively severe reviewer, "is that nobody in the press gallery reads *Saturday Night*"), the context was ignored. Nielsen told writer Doug Fetherling that his phone had been bugged, his mail opened and that he had been otherwise harassed—he thought by a government patsy about leaks. Nielsen's point, as relayed by Fetherling, was that "the government was not all-minded." It all may have been a great scandal. I, don't think so. Nielsen may be. Not Nielsen, I myself, per my parliamentary ethics list sharply. But as journalism, the so-called Nielsen Affair stank.

## SPACE

# Exploring the cause of a space tragedy

The experiment that Richard Feynman conducted during a lunch break in Washington last week was simple and dramatic—and it may answer the cause of the world accident in the history of the U.S. space program. The California Institute of Technology professor—winner of the Nobel Prize for physics in 1965—is

part of the right booster rocket. And additional testimony as well as a re-examination of what occurred has made the cause of the crash suspect in the disaster. Each of the two solid-fuel rockets has four cylindrical motor sections with seals located in the joints between the sections. There are two large O-rings in each joint, and during

firm properly. And Lawrence Mulvey, a NASA spokesman on solid-fuel rockets, said that he agreed with Feynman's contention that low temperatures might prevent the seals from working properly. But he stressed that the agency decided to launch the shuttle in cold weather only after consulting experts at the Utah plant operated by Morton Thiokol Inc. There, officials at the firm that manufactures the rockets decided that the cold would not affect booster performance.

There are other concerns about the seals in the booster rockets. For one, a welder named Richard Cook said some months ago that because of the rings' tendency to "shrink during liftoff," "leakage has been and still is being compromised by potential failure of the seals." In a July 25 report to his supervisor, Cook noted that in one shuttle launch, "burning rocket fuel had eaten through primary O-ring seals and partially eroded the secondary rings." But Mulvey added that the worded ones of erosion had not jeopardized shuttle safety. And despite the new evidence, commission members and state officials say that they have not drawn any conclusions about the cause of the explosion. But the reported U.S. engineers Anatole Wick & Space Technologies reported last week that agency investigators believe a fuel leak from the right-hand booster caused the rocket's lower section to break loose. That caused a rupture in the external tank that supplies the shuttle's main thrusters with liquid hydrogen and liquid oxygen.

Still, William Lucas, a NASA flight centre director, said the agency has no doubts about the inherent safety of the booster seals. He added, "I would not conclude there is a safety problem that is not being solved." Lucas said that mission during the launch, the agency heard conflicting and contradictory testimony—particularly from a U.S. Air Force report on shuttle safety procedures. That report, issued two years ago, stressed that there was one chance in 10 of a major mechanical failure down—most likely a booster failure. And when the Challenger disintegrated in an orange fireball last month it swiftly—and tragically—confirmed the basic prediction is the Air Force report. Now, the commission is exploring the cause of that accident—and ways to prevent its recurrence.

—JOHN BARBER with correspondent reports



NEIL ARMSTRONG

Armstrong (left) and Shepard. Low temperatures, churning and questionable seals

saw a member of a 12-member panel recapitulating the Jan. 28 explosion that killed all seven crew members aboard the space shuttle Challenger. And after a warning session that focused on the reliability of safety rings between sections of the shuttle's 19-foot-high booster rockets, Feynman placed a piece of the synthetic rubber material in a glass of ice water. His feeling after several minutes of immersion the O-shaped ring material, designed to prevent hot gases and flames from escaping between the joints of the booster rockets, had lost almost all its resilience. Feynman's on-the-spot reinforced speculation that material failure related by the lowest temperatures ever recorded during a shuttle launch—23°F—caused the space tragedy.

U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration officials began examining the O-rings after pictures taken shortly after lift-off showed first cracks and then a jet of flame on the lower

launch the burning rocket fuel jets then against the seals to prevent exhaust gases from escaping.

NASA officials acknowledged that they knew three years ago that the booster's secondary O-ring seals might be unable to prevent a leak of the primary rings failed. Effective inspections are compulsory for most shuttle equipment, but instead of redesigning the secondary rings the agency wanted that requirement. Agency analysts said they were convinced that the secondary seals would work well enough to prevent leaks during the critical early stages of launches. But they added that any breakdown in the primary rings would likely result in a catastrophe.

Now, inquiry members, including former secretary of state William Rogers, former astronaut Neil Armstrong and Sally Ride, the first American woman in space, have heard NASA officials testify that the rings had to retain their resilience in order to pre-



U of T demonstration: South Africa's apartheid policies have sparked bomb threats and economic boycotts

## EDUCATION

# An outbreak of activism

There was a clear note of disappoinment in a Canadian University Press (CUP) story which ran in student newspapers late last month. Under the headline "Person gives for the old at last," the article quoted a Bank of Nova Scotia employee in Montreal who said that 50 per cent of her customers for Registered Retirement Savings Plans are now under 30. To the news service at least, that development confirmed—again—that cautious conservatism has replaced 1960s-style activism in campus life. Many students have rallied to a single cause this year—opposing the racist policies of the South African government. And on such campuses as McGill University and the University of Toronto the movement has resorted to noisy demonstrations, sit-ins and bomb threats. Said Ottawa-based CUP national bureau chief Peter Karlenboer: "Apart from AIDS, South Africa is the only really unifying issue that students have right now."

South Africa's domestic policies—which opponents condemn because they withhold rights from the country's black and mixed-race "coloured" populations—have been the subject of intense debate on North American university campuses for years. But widely reported riots by South African blacks last year in which more than 600 people died have fuelled opposition to apartheid. Students are now urging university administrations to disavow its companies doing business in

South Africa, and protesting against South African government sponsors on campus. Said Neil Snelker, a sociology professor at the University of California at Berkeley who has championed social protests since the early 1960s: "This movement has come as a tremendous boon to frustrated student radicals who haven't had a cause to sink their teeth into. South Africa is very far away and all the violence is over there. It is a motherhood issue."

Demonstrations against South Africa have spilled beyond the ordered confines of campus debating societies. For one thing, Glenn Reid, South Africa's ambassador to Canada, narrowly escaped injury at the University of Toronto last November when an elementary schoolteacher threw a tomato can at him. When police charged the man with assault and the university invited him to resume the interrupted debate on apartheid.

Roar U of T professors then tried unsuccessfully to obtain an Ontario Supreme Court interim injunction barring Bobb from speaking on the campus because they said that his appearance would violate Canadian law. And mounted police had to control an angry crowd of 300 demonstrators when Bobb, wearing a bulletproof vest, returned to the university at 2 a.m. The ambassador managed to deliver a burned message of South African policies, but now students at Ottawa's Carleton University say they determined to stop him from giving his

country's policies on control of the press at an upcoming debate in the university's school of journalism. As well, opponents of apartheid want to inflict financial damage on the South African regime. To that end, 74 U.S. colleges and universities have decided to withdraw some or all of their investments (totaling almost \$600 million) from companies doing business in South Africa, according to the American Committee on Africa, a New York-based lobby group. In Canada, where few universities have large investment portfolios, the issue has been slower to catch on. Last November McGill because the first Canadian university to adopt that tactic, it withdrew about \$40 million. Dalhousie University of Halifax adopted the same policy in January. And Nigel Crawford, chairman of the McGill students' South Africa committee, noted that the issue had led to the largest demonstration at the university in 30 years.

The anti-apartheid demonstrations may have more personal motivations. Says observers in Toronto, Glen, a Kingston, Ont., school trustee who helped to organize a demonstration against another South African diplomat's visit to Queen's University earlier this month, says that the cause has become popular partly "because it allows students to exorcise aggressions." But she added "As an activist who has been involved in a lot of causes over the years, I feel we have to take advantage of every opportunity we get. There is no way any Canadian can say he is not aware of what is happening in South Africa now. That is why we have jumped on this issue."

—JOHN DARRIN in Toronto with  
WILLIAM LUTHER in Washington

## CRIME

# Tylenol and terrorism

The death of a New York-area stenographer who swallowed a cyanide-laced Extra-Strength Tylenol capsule on Feb. 8 chillingly recalled the Tylenol-related deaths of seven Illinois residents in 1982. Every last week police in suburban Westchester County said that 33-year-old Denise Elmer's death was an isolated incident, but the discovery of five more poison capsules in a second bottle five days later prompted New York, Massachusetts, Indiana, California and Illinois officials to ban sales of the popular pain reliever. And Johnson & Johnson, the New Jersey-based pharmaceutical firm that makes the capsules, immediately suspended U.S. sales. Meanwhile, Food and Drug Administration chemists tested 75,000 capsules taken from stores in the New York area but found only the contaminated capsules in the second bottle.

Paul Mitchell, president of Johnson & Johnson's Greenich, Conn.-based subsidiary, McNeil Consumer Products Co., stressed that all Extra-Strength Tylenol sold in Canada is made in this country and that the subboxed capsules were manufactured in Pennsylvania and Puerto Rico. And because Canadians prefer medicine in solid tablets, only 18 per cent of the Extra-Strength Tylenol sold in Canada comes in capsule form—compared with 50 per cent of the U.S. market.

Johnson & Johnson now distributes the pain remedy with three tamper-resistant seals in its packaging: a hot that is glued shut, a heat-sealed plastic ring around the top of the bottle and an aluminum foil seal inside the cap. But last year Westchester County chief executive Andrew O'Brien was the seal on both postconsumer bottles appeared broken and suggested that "professional means" had been used to reveal them. At the same time, police said they doubt that a man who wrote an extensive note describing 30 ways to prevent future poisonings had any connection with Elmer's death. In any event, the death toll could have been even higher after Elmer died at her boyfriend's home, the young man's mother became so distraught that she swallowed a capsule from the same 50-cent bottle. There were three more cyanide-laced capsules inside.

—KENT SCHMIDT in Toronto



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# The women in a hell behind bars

TURNING TO STONE  
(CBC, Feb. 25, 8 p.m.)

With about 180 inmates behind its walls, the Prison for Women in Kingston, Ont., in Canada's only federal penitentiary for female offenders. And its residents form an unusual site. Most are serving sentences for violent crimes—almost half for murder or manslaughter. Although they tend to be less brutal than male inmates, tensions among their ranks can result in beatings, stabbings, stabbings, rapes—and occasionally murder. Turning to Stone, a two-hour CBC movie, tells the true tale of Allison (Nicole Gaudagnoli), a professor's daughter who falls from middle-class grace into the prison's hell after conviction on a drug charge. John Kautner, who produced the program, has won two Emmys—awarded by the U.S. Academy of Television Arts and Sciences—for his TV documentaries. In his first drama, he takes viewers on a harrowing odyssey into Allison's nightmare.

Although Turning to Stone is fiction, it carries the sting of documentary. In fact, the film was born as a spin-off from Kautner's ambitious documentary trilogy about Canada's prison system. The CBC has already broadcast the first two parts, *The Female Dancer* and *The Lifer and the Lady*. To prepare the final episode, *Prison Mothers, Prison Daughters*, due to air this fall, the filmmaker spent three months talking to inmates and staff at the Prison for Women. As he slowly gained the trust of about a dozen key inmates, they told him secrets they had feared to disclose for the documentary camera: gruesome stories of epidemic violence and treachery among the inmates. Wondering how he could possibly use the material, Kautner finally decided to make Turning to Stone. The characters are made up of a mix of real inmates, and the plot—scripted for television by award-winning playwright Jeffrey Thompson (*Crickets*)—is constructed from real events. Still, the drama generates a macabre sense of uneasiness, which is surely the work of the pen itself. As Kautner: "It's like trying to tell people about life as the planet Venus."

The movie traces Allison's story from her arrest at Toronto international airport, where she is discovered with cocaine in her luggage, her return from a Caribbean vacation with her boyfriend. Although her nerves attempt to bluff her way through customs red-

coils that she is an amateur, she has imported enough cocaine to earn a seven-year sentence for drug trafficking. At the Prison for Women, Allison arrives as fresh, pretty, pretty angry surrounded by slowly circling sharks. She tells her father (Gordon Kennedy) during a visit: "They talk about cutting people and doing people. This morning I said 'johannes' and they all laughed and when-

momentarily probes his drama from the documentary edge to the explicit horror nature of graphic horror movies. Also, there is a rape scene where the camera laces all too easily over a belt being unbuttoned below a bare midriff. Although Kautner says he has not exaggerated the horrors of the real Prison for Women—the film contains neither a murder nor a suicide—his drama would



Gaudagnoli and Kennedy give the visceral shock value of censored edited brutality

ted and said I mean to be an informer."

Early on, Allison is befriended by a fellow prisoner, Ducky (Jackie Richardson), who tries to shelter her from the inmate mafia. But Lena (Shirley Douglas), the cellblock's high-heeled underworld queen, largely the new inmate for intimidation. Terrified of getting hurt or raped, Allison offers to buy protection with her father's wealth, a proposal Lena readily accepts. But that traps Allison in a vicious cycle of criminal debt which gradually isolates her from both the outside world and her father, whose affection begins to evaporate as illegal demands on him escalate.

Kautner's characters are chillingly drab. And Thompson's taut script forcefully conveys the fears and tension of the inmate subculture. Still, some of the violence portrayed in Turning to Stone is luridly graphic. With an explicit wine-drinking scene, Kautner

is riveting enough without the visceral shock value of censored edited brutality. In fact, its most purely terrifying moments are achieved through dialogue. Gaudagnoli's haunting performance is complemented by a strong supporting cast, notably Anne Anglin as Allison's adoring mother, Sharon, and Kim Rinders as her eerily catatonic neighbor, Marie.

Testing the limits of prime-time tolerance, Turning to Stone is as compelling as prime time gets—and for some viewers it may, indeed, be too compelling. Kautner's film has to compete with the American Grammy Awards for its audience. Rarely does the small screen offer viewers such shockingly opposed choices between glitter and grit. In an unexpected nod, Turning to Stone offers no escape.

—DAVID D. JOHNSON

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Gift, Cole and Sleek of Fine Young Cannibals: an insatiable musical appetite

## FOR THE RECORD

# Pretence and passion

### EASY PIECES

Lloyd Cole and the Communions  
(Geffen/WB)

Their 1993 debut album, *Anthems*, earned Britpop's Lloyd Cole and the Communions a reputation as a thinking man's pop band. With a musical style borrowing heavily from American folk-rock, the 34-year-old Cole included generous literary references in his thoughtful lyrics about love and obsession. But on the band's second album, *Many Moons*, Cole proves himself too clever for his own good. Although his songs now feature less pretentious references, his poetic devices are often strained. *East Woodstock* resorts to such obscure metaphors as "a head full of attitude and satiny heart on my sleeve, wounded knees." Despite its melodic charms, the music is often cluttered with purposeless string arrangements. Sadly, success seems to have gone to Cole's head.

### PRIVATE BEACH PARTY

Gregory Isaacs  
(Jive/Atlantic)

A gentleman in Italian suits, gold chains and wearing his hat at a ritzlike angle has won reggae singer Gregory Isaacs the nickname of Mr. Cool Rebel in his native Jamaica. But Isaacs' reputation abroad owes more to his seductive crooning style than to his affectations. In *Private Beach Party*, his first Canadian release, Isaacs exaggerates his vocals with enough moaning, purring and wailing for a pet-food commercial. The

title track is an open sexual invitation to his female listeners, but *No Shaking Wares* of a sexually promiscuous "princess." And a tender duet with Toronto singer Carolee Davis, *Feeling Free*, features such 1960s terms as "blow my mind." Isaacs poses as a sexual libertine, but with his double standards and outdated attitudes he is simply old-fashioned.

### FINE YOUNG CANNIBALS (JLS/WEA)

When the English Beat broke up three years ago fans mourned the passing of a frenetic dance band with a political bent. But happily, two dynamic new bands have risen from its ashes: first, General Public, and now Fine Young Cannibals. The latter, created by guitarist Andy Cox and bassist David Roedel, is particularly exciting both for its ragged rhythmic-and-blues style and the participation of Roland Gift, a former pop singer with a laudible vocal range. On the group's impressive debut album, Gift sings a disorienting series of waltzes, from plaintive agency on *Johnny Come Home* to stark melancholy on *Many Moons*. And the band offers a reflecting loon-powered version of Elvis Presley's classic ballad *Suspicious Minds*. That the album's highlight is the party *Blue*, with its muted trumpet, fast guitar and pulsing bass. On their first release, Fine Young Cannibals reveal an insatiable musical appetite.

—SANDRA JENNINGS

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## TELEVISION

# Laughing at a mirror

AIRWAVES  
CBC, Mondays at 7:30 p.m.

The situation comedy has traditionally been a television vehicle in which Americans favoured and Canadians seldom tried to compete. With few exceptions, particularly *King of the Hill* and *Seinfeld*, those foreign sitcoms have been largely



At right, Hoenigst, Maxwell, relaxed, breezy, with a down-to-earth flavor

absent from CBC TV's domestic programming. That makes *Airwaves*—a 13-part half-hour series about a widowed career woman living with her feisty father and teenage daughter in a fashionable district of Toronto—no table simply because it tries to be funny and heartwarming. The fact that it often succeeds is a tribute to Toronto-based producer Allison Potts and to the important role of independent producer houses in Canadian television.

In contrast to the caricature personalities and laugh-oriented plots of conventional sitcoms, *Airwaves* has a relaxed, down-to-earth flavor. Each episode revolves around the inner life crisis of Jean Laporte (Robert Maxwell), a radio talk-show host, and her family. Scripted and directed by a variety of contributors, the shows tend to be loosely paced and clearly developed. In one installment, Potts, written by Judith Thompson and directed by Gordon Posen, the family tries awkwardly to provide a home for a rebellious foster child. Within its half-hour the program manages sensitively

to convey a good deal about the frustrations of middle-class charity. But there are weak episodes, such as *Brooklyn Men*, in which Jean and her best friend engage in a long, confusing argument about romance that is never clarified or resolved.

*Airwaves* has an excellent cast. As Jean, Maxwell radiates an intelligent but vulnerable presence, while Ingrid

Vaninger as her 13-year-old daughter, Zoe, has a wide-eyed, offbeat charm. At times their characters seem too good to be true, constantly expressing love for one another and resolving problems with a humor that few people achieve in daily life. Grandfather Bobby (Holmes Hoenigst), who has gone back to university, makes fun and risks a blunder in the opening of home-span goodness. Zoe's friend Ariel—played with cool unconcern by Deborah Johnson—is eccentric, but figures only sparingly in the action. A little brassier moments would have made the characters more interesting and believable.

The ordinary decency of its characters helps make *Airwaves* distinctly Canadian. That is embodied by the use of such landmarks as Toronto's City Hall and frequent shots of streets winding along sunny streets. Ultimately, what makes *Airwaves* an enjoyable addition to Canadian television is the sense of being close to home.

—SCOTT JENNINGS

Getting there is half the fun, Charles.

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## A retreat from Mideast terrorism

Cruising the sunny Mediterranean aboard a luxury ocean liner ranks with the best of dream vacations. But recently that dream has been shattered by the reality of Middle East terror—the piracy of boats and planes and the slaughter of innocents that has spread to European airports. And the image of 60-year-old U.S. cruise boss Kluhnschlag being thrown overboard with his wheelchair off the Syrian port of Tartus by the hijackers of the Italian cruise ship *Achille Lauro* last October still haunts many would-be vacationers. Now, cruise industry operators are scrambling to satisfy travellers who fear an encounter with terrorism is the price of an high seas. The result so far: devastation for Mediterranean tourism and a boon for cruises in tranquil Scandinavia and in the North American West Coast.

In the wake of the *Achille Lauro* incident and other terrorist acts in the region last year, thousands of travellers cancelled Mediterranean cruises. And as several cruise lines, reacting to passengers' concerns for their safety, moved ships out of the Mediterranean, Vancouver was among the ports to show a big gain. With its twin attractions of the Expo '86 world's fair this summer and its new cruise ship dock under the stylized glass false sails at Canada Place, Vancouver so far has booked 19 vessels on 320 voyages during the May-to-September cruise season. Last year there were 186 cruise-ship dockings in the port of Vancouver and an estimated \$100-million injection into Vancouver's economy. The increase in bookings for this year, said Frank Addino, president of Vancouver-based *Adrian Travel Marketing*, is "definitely a windfall for us."

Two major operators that have cancelled some Mediterranean destinations in favor of Alaska cruises with stops in Vancouver are San Francisco-based *Royal Cruise Line* and Princess Cruises of Los Angeles. Said *Royal* president Richard Bennett: "We have abandoned the Mediterranean for now, simply because we don't want to endanger our passengers." Princess dropped 38 Mediterranean cruises with a potential revenue of \$45 million and moved its famed *Pacific Princess*—the liner featured on TV's *The Love Boat*—to its new home berth in Seattle, Wash. The ship will offer Alaska tours—starting from \$270 for seven days—allowing two days in Vancouver for passengers to visit Expo. Of the

company's move out of the Mediterranean, Princess president Arthur Roden said, "It was a very difficult decision, but we really had no choice."

The West Coast's gain is a loss for the European touring industry, parts of which are reeling from the wave of cancellations. Particularly hard hit is Greece, whose Athens airport was the

Queen Princess, to week-long cruises of the Baltic from Copenhagen. Replaced on Queen Cruise Lines' side "between 70 and 80 per cent of our business comes from Americans, so we have to cater to their fears and wishes."

Also, San Francisco-based *Royal Viking Line* and *Royal Cruise Line* hope that U.S. customers will fuel



Alaskan cruising: retooling cruises far from the worrying Mediterranean.

departure point for two hijacked flights last year. Carlo Rigo di Meana, the European Economic Community aide for tourism, said that Greece lost \$100 million worth of tourist business as a result of uneasiness about bookings. Said Greek tourism official Demetris Benetos: "Media overkill on terrorism has combined with the American public's tendency to oversimplify issues to identify our country in people's minds with Libya. It's a disaster." Similarly, Rigo di Meana reported that American tourism to Italy has plunged by 50 per cent, and even Holland has suffered a 20-per-cent decline.

One company still operating two cruise ships in the Mediterranean, London-based *Ocean Cruise Lines*, said that despite the diminished competition, bookings by Americans could be down by 20 per cent this year. As a result, this summer it plans to manage one liner, the 400-passenger

safer in the calmer waters of the Far East, Alaska and the Caribbean.

Still, several companies are continuing to operate cruises in the eastern Mediterranean—with considerably tightened security. Guards patrol port perimeters and passengers and their luggage face more stringent examinations in Greek and Italian ports. But the security task is enormous. Said Jacques Pourbaix, the Brussels-based general agent for *Alta Mare*, owner of the *Achille Lauro*: "A port can't be sealed off like an airport. Sitting in the open, ships in port are prey to terrorism by land, sea or even helicopter. You simply can't protect them." Instead, the cruise industry is counting on the current scare to pass. After the *Achille Lauro* nightmare, the cruise companies are anxious to return to their task of fulfilling dreams.

—KEVIN SCAMLEN with PETER LEVITS in Toronto and DON LUTCHOW in Vancouver

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## BOOKS

# Notes from a stormy life

THE COLLECTED LETTERS  
OF DYLAN THOMAS  
Edited by Paul Ferris  
(Penguin & Viking, 1992)  
\$35.95 (hbk), \$15.95 (pbk)

**H**e wrote only a handful of true masterpieces—such powerful, highly original poems as *Five Jive* and *Do not go gentle into that good night*. But Dylan Thomas is remem-



Thomas: bawdy humor, random rages

bered as one of the century's most compelling lyric poets. The same high praise cannot be extended to his letters. Although many of the entries in *The Collected Letters of Dylan Thomas*—edited by Thomas biographer Paul Ferris—offer flashes of Thomas's picaresque, bawdy humor and acerbic wit, most of them are simply banalities. Unlike such writers as D.H. Lawrence and Virginia Woolf, Thomas rarely devoted the best of himself to his correspondence. More often, he was begging for money, maneuvering for a better deal with publishers or simply complaining about his hard life. His letters reveal Thomas as a deeply concerned, self-preoccupied man with little interest in politics, society or ideas.

Of hard Thomas fans prepared to sift through almost 1,000 pages will still find some fascinating nuggets in

*The Collected Letters* reflecting the poet's tempestuous life. Born in 1914 to a lower-middle-class family in Swansea, Wales, Thomas dropped out of school at 16 to become a poet. For a writer who would one day romanticize his homeland, the young Thomas detected a surprising amount of life to be found in it. In a dyspeptic 1933 letter to the future novelist Pamela Hansford Johnson, he described his countryside as "divided in mind and body, as only the Welsh can be." But in a letter to Welshman and would-be writer Trevor Hughes, he bemoaned with gusto his life, urging Hughes to please "take the son of yourself like a young dog, and bring out a poem!"

The next year, taking his own advice, Thomas moved to London and produced his controversial first book, *27 Poems*. His correspondents from that time show how he strove to make his poems as serious and surprising as possible. In one 1935 letter Thomas wrote "Poetry should be an organic and organic as evolution. A poet's middle leg is his poem!" But Thomas had to wrestle with more than the English language. A hard drinker and spendthrift, he borrowed heavily to supplement the small amounts that he earned from writing and the odd acting job. Eventually his rampant ways undermined his talent. Writing to a longtime friend, Vernon Watkins, he admitted his weakness for "promiscuity, booze, coloured shirts, too much talk, too little work."

These bad habits were largely responsible for his stormy relationship with the dancer Caitlin MaMahon, whom he married in 1950. They often argued, virtually until they collapsed, but when they were apart, Thomas wrote her passionate, whimsical letters. Those misuses grew more frequent and plaintive when Thomas, hoping to solve his financial problems with public readings, travelled to North America in 1950. Instead, most of his earnings during that and two subsequent trips slipped through his fingers. He died in New York in 1953, at 39, after a doctor who was treating his alcoholism with morphine accidentally gave him an overdose. But he left poems that soar above the tawdry circumstances of his life. In *The Collected Letters* do exist rare as high, they do contain evidence of the random rages and losses from which he formed his art.

—JERRY BENNETT

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# Christian prescriptions

FOR CHRIST'S SAKE  
By Tom Harper  
Oxford University Press  
120 pages, \$6.95

Like many Christians, Tom Harper, a nationally syndicated Toronto-based religious columnist, acknowledges that Christianity is in a weakened condition. Increasingly, many North Americans and Europeans

are losing interest in the symbols and myths of what was once the most powerful force in Western culture. In his extended essay *For Christ's Sake*, Harper argues that the only hope for Christianity's survival is radical surgery. If Christians are to make their beliefs live again, he claims, they will have to strip away the dogma that has built up over the centuries and present a more accurate vision of Jesus based

on the Gospels. Harper sometimes goes away from accepting the full import of his own arguments, but *For Christ's Sake* still offers welcome guideposts for those wandering near the borders of Christianity.

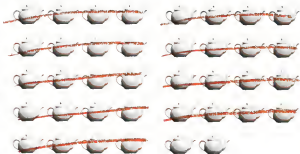
Although it mirrors many of Harper's personal beliefs, *For Christ's Sake* is also an amalgam of various liberating trends current in many churches. The book attacks several targets, from the intransigent dogmas of a heavily centralized Roman Catholicism to the tendency of some Protestants to set up the Bible as what Harper calls a "yawner paper," reading it only in the most narrow, literal sense in order to justify their own prejudices. By contrast, Harper urges his readers to jettison their preconceptions, such as the doctrine of the Trinity, and look closely at the Gospels to see what the founder of Christianity really did and said. As Harper points out, "Too simply cannot find the doctrine of the Trinity set out anywhere in the Bible."

Certainly, Harper's Jesus is very different from the complacent King of Kings who marches triumphantly across so many stained glass windows; rather, he is a red-blooded man who could feel anger and quite probably sexual desire. Still, Jesus is superior to all other human beings, Harper maintains, because he has more of God in him: more love, more forgiveness, more dynamic goodness. His message is simply to love God and one's neighbor. Harper claims that attempts to exploit him as the source of many elaborate moral codes are misleading. He writes that Jesus "laid down no detailed code of sexual conduct, no rules for the unmarried, the engaged, the widowed, the homosexual, the couple facing an unwanted pregnancy."

That vision of Jesus will likely appeal to liberals seeking a more humanistic and tolerant Christianity. But they may still be unwilling to accept all of Harper's views. Despite his explanation of most biblical miracles as "apocryphal," Harper insists that God literally raised Christ from the dead—and that he will do the same for the spirits of believing Christians. To many, that will seem like a denial of all the careful evidence since that has gone before; surely the Resurrection can also be seen symbolically, as Jesus' triumph over the hatred, fears and depressions that can make life a living death. But *For Christ's Sake's* writers still stand it has breached the dam of dogma and officially-sanctioned superstition that for many Christians blocks the waters of Jesus' original teachings.

—JOHN BOMBARDI

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De Mornay, Page: a woman's primal need to touch the earth that nurtured her

## FILMS

### A quest for rural roots

THE TRIP TO BOUNTIFUL  
Directed by Peter Masterson

As Mrs. Watts, an elderly woman anxious to return to her roots, Geraldine Page gives the most endearing and accomplished performance of her career. With her hair a snowy, early white, Page slips comfortably into Mrs. Watts's gentle, God-fearing soul. The old woman lives with her son Ludie (John Heard) and his wife, Jessie Mae (Carmen Gloria). She spends it as the supervisor of one to get so Jessie Mae's nerves with her karm-wapping and her tendency to shuffle, rather than walk, around the house. Picking up and down to get along with her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Watts finally seizes an opportunity to run away from Houston to her original home in Bountiful, a depressed Texas hamlet.

Set in 1942, *The Trip to Bountiful* chronicles Mrs. Watts's attempt to return to the only real happiness she ever knew. In adopting his own 1933 play to the screen, Horton Foote ( *tender Mercies*) displays a disturbing affection for his character Mrs. Watts: is as crafty as she is cantankerous; she hides her private chagrin from her watchful daughter-in-law and even chides her son for his Bountiful. Although Ludie and Jessie Mae know about her plan, she eludes them at the bus station, and so begins her emotional journey.

*The Trip to Bountiful* is an honest, tenderhearted, minor masterpiece. Foote simply expresses Mrs. Watts's desperate need to touch the earth that nurtured her before she dies. She tells Thelma (Rebecca De Mornay), a young bride she meets on the bus, "My hands just feel the need of dirt," and all the painful longing for home creeps poignantly through Page's voice. In Mrs. Watts, Foote has created a kind of down-home poetry in the rhythms of her speech and her choice of expression. When she has drops Mrs. Watts in a town near Bountiful, she refuses to patronize its hotel because its prices are "as high as a cat's back." Waking groggily the next morning, she will grieve in anticipation of finally returning to her home.

On the alert for an elderly runaway, the town's sheriff (Richard Bradford) picks her up. But she convinces him to drive her out to her old home in Bountiful, which is now a ghost town. In the hands of a lesser actress, Mrs. Watts's encounter with her past—walking slowly through the dilapidated house and the weedy grounds outside—could have been dreadfully mawkish. But Page holds back before releasing her primal tears, and the film achieves a magnificent epiphany. The moment is small, quiet, and, like the rest of *The Trip to Bountiful*, entirely unforgettable.

—LAWRENCE GORDON

## Recycling an old formula

QUICKSILVER  
Directed by Tom Donnelly

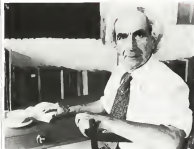
Like so many recent Hollywood movies, *Quicksilver* attempts to appeal to the teenage audience and manufacture a new trend at the same time. Now that skateboards and breakdancing have gone the way of most fads, filmmakers have turned to the joys of truck-riding on bicycles. In one sequence, the employees of a large messenger service called *Quicksilver* get to show off their cycling prowess, displaying such wildly locomotive feats as riding on one wheel, turning the front wheel frantically back and forth and riding while doing a handstand on the seat. To introduce the new mode of personal expression, the movie-makers provide an amazingly irresponsible plot: a daring young stockbroker named Jack Casey (Kevin Spacey) loses everything he has, including his parents' savings, and then finds freedom from the office routine by becoming a messenger. His euphoria is a friend, "It makes me feel—good." Then, reaching for a more succinct definition, he adds, "It makes me feel good."

*Quicksilver* is no more articulate when it focuses on Casey's relationships with the other members of the messenger service. There is Terri (Joan Cusack), mysterious and homeless. She unknowingly delivers drugs for Gypsy (Chad Ramey), the local gangster. After Casey witnesses Gypsy murdering another messenger, Gypsy wants to kill Casey, too, which provides the opportunity for an extended car and knife chase. And when Casey's friend Hector (Paul Rodriguez) needs a loan to realize his dream of owning a hot-dog stand, Casey makes a loan to Hector in the floor of the stock exchange and makes some quick money.

*Quicksilver* is factory-made, paved together with parts that have proven marketable in the movie-going consumer youth. From the opening scene and violence to the cast of characters is extremely contrived, whine, blinks and bigness all know someone to root for. There is a whole a pearl of wisdom drops, on the order of "you can lose anything in life." But such an over-the-top message is the whole of *Quicksilver* takes itself seriously and is laughable because it does just that.

—L. OTT

## Celebrating a survivor



Fekely says his best poetry could be written in other people's minds

In a small apartment in a downtown Toronto highrise, the Canadian writer who has been called Hungary's greatest living poet lends his African violets. He remarks: "You have to praise them every day." He is clearly proud of the fact that his plants are in vigorous bloom in the middle of winter. So, in a curious way, he is. At 76, having survived persecution in Hungary by both Nazis and Communists, followed by another 30 years of exile and relative obscurity in Canada, Fekely discovered last week that he had been nominated for the 1985 Nobel Prize for literature. Although such Canadian writers as Irving Layton and Josef Skvorecky have been unsuccessful nominees in the past, the nomination was still an honor. And coupled with the recent publication of his *Silenced Poems, 1952-1980*, it has focused attention on an exotic and powerful writer who has chosen to make Canada his home.

Fekely's poetry is written with a very tenderness, whether it is a ballad to his dying second wife ("here you lie, adrift as a narrow bed's small boat going under/hold a tattered rope, pathetic swirls/ slides from my head") or an anti-Semitic tirade against the United States (*Letter to the Mayor of Philadelphia*). Hungarian-born George Jonas, a Toronto author, journalist and longtime cham-

ion of Fekely, said, "Fekely can make music like Mozart with words."

According to John Robert Colombo, who edited two earlier selections of the poet's work, Fekely's life has been "an index of all the things wrong in the 20th century." Born in 1910 in Budapest, the son of a chemical engineering teacher, Fekely has opposed the two great tyrannies of his times. Achieving early fame in his native country as a love poet and translator, he was a vociferous opponent of Hungary's fascist government of the 1930s. In 1938, fleeing arrest, Fekely moved first to Paris and then to North America. After the Second World War, rejecting an offer of U.S. citizenship, he returned to Hungary. There, he found that his father had died and that his sister, a doctor, had been murdered by the Nazis.

In Hungary Fekely resumed his literary work only to find, as a social democrat, that his views were increasingly unacceptable to the Communists. First, the secret police suppressed his work and then, in 1950, arrested him. He spent six months in the cellars of the secret police headquarters before serving (three years of a 10-year sentence of hard labor in the notorious Buda prison camp. In his moving memoir, *My Happy Days in Hell*, recently reissued by William Collins Bess & Co. Canada, Fekely describes how he created his poetry

in prison, memorizing it and sharing it with other inmates. In that way it survived, a fact that Jonas finds impressive. Said Jonas: "Only the finest poetry could be written in other people's minds, instead of on paper."

Fekely left Hungary after the 1956 revolution and spent time in both London and Vienna before moving to Canada at the urging of friends. He admits to feeling uncomfortable in Canada and he added "It's wonderful. Here, nobody is wondering if they are going to be alive the next day." Certainly, he insists, writes—in Hungarian—and translates world literature into Hungarian. As well, he receives a steady trickle of visitors in the apartment that he shares with his secretary/companion, Eric Johnson, and several free-flying goldfishes. Many of his visitors are Hungarians who have read his work in underground editions.

Widely recognized by intellectuals for his meditation books, including *The History of Unreason*, and for his poetry, Fekely has mastered the art of taking his work seriously, but not himself. Ten years ago he even appeared in a television commercial for a moving company as a sad Franz Liszt, with hair unkempt, playing a piano in the back of a van. The ad, he recalled with a smile, "made me a lot of money." Although the Nobel Prize money may elude Fekely, Colombo says, "His work is Nobel stature." □

### MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

#### Fiction

- 1 *The Manchurian Station*, Aul (1)
- 2 *Thru, Medicine* (1)
- 3 *Life Down with Lions*, Fekely (2)
- 4 *The Hardened Talk*, Atwood (1)
- 5 *What's Good in the House*, Gerson (1)
- 6 *Cartoon*, Igou (2)
- 7 *Secrets*, Reid (1)
- 8 *London Black*, Douglas (2)
- 9 *Cybernetic*, Coudler
- 10 *The Fourth Deadly Sin*, Sanders

#### Nonfiction

- 1 *Company of Adventurers*, Newman (2)
- 2 *Struggle from the Heart*, Christie (2)
- 3 *Fit for Life*, Diamond and Diamond (2)
- 4 *Islands, Rivers with Man* (2)
- 5 *Run to Paradise*, Atwood (2)
- 6 *Shining in the Light*, MacLennan (2)
- 7 *Young, Young and Young* (2)
- 8 *Godless: The Secret Lives of Marilyn Monroe*, Sussman (2)
- 9 *Callistics*, Proulx with Jibson (2)
- 10 *Elvis and Me*, Proulx with Jibson (2)

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# A ringing fear of telephoning

By Allan Fotheringham

There are dumb ideas and then there are stupid ideas. There never seems to be a shortage of either and often they come from some very high sources. This week's example comes from a very bright guy, Mr. Jean-Claude Delorme, who is president of Teleplus Canada. He is the author of the statement that Third World countries need at least a basic telephone network if they hope to develop—an eye-boggler if I ever saw one. Delorme is chairman of a committee set up last year by the International Telecommunication Union, an agency of the United Nations.

The committee's goal is that "by the early part of the next century, the whole of mankind should be brought within easy reach of a telephone." Of the 600 million telephones in the world now, three quarters are concentrated in just nine countries. The committee hopes that as more information flows, so will world trade and understanding between nations.

Well now. As someone who makes his living from the telephone, I am one of the world's outstanding experts on the beast. As a matter of fact, I'm surprised I wasn't asked to be a member of the International Telecommunication Union (which brings the same daily rate as Simon Stevin's grid). It has never really been my experience that possession of a telephone leads to understanding. Canadians, as the yearly statistics always show, talk on the telephone more than any other nation. Have you ever seen a more divided country? That against West? English against French? Everybody against Toronto? Canada is less coherent, less together than, say, the United States or Britain where, in the latter case, they have even fewer telephones than they do hachacha Canadians are denser than the Brits, but they don't like each other any better. Put it down to the telephone.

Thanks to the genius of the international telecommunications people, we

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Stedman News*.

now have a red phone in the White House and a red phone in the Kremlin—as they can phone each other when they are about to push the nuclear button. Doesn't seem to have improved relations to me. Didn't do much good before Korea. Air Lines Flight 007 was shot down. Thanks to electronic communications, the Malaysian government is involved in another silly and damaging flap involving Erik (Bugs Bunny) Nansen and his obsessive parents that happened 20 years ago when Erik (Bugs Bunny) Nansen's obsessive parents was, well, the same as it is today.



Newspapers today are run almost exclusively off the telephone. What this great invention of Alexander Graham Bell (or was it Dr. James Naismith?) does is enable/present a reporter from one meeting the people he writes about. That's progress? My sweet plan, when I run the world is to deliver one week every year in which all newspaper telephones are cut off and the scribes actually have to leave the office and go out and have a cup of newspaper with people they write about. Come to think of it, we'll start what they do in the Third World—talk to each other. We'll save into the beepers age, where you can't act as a movie without some doctor or self-important political aide emitting, during the love scenes, some strange radioactive sounds from the region of his belt.

Progressing from there, the car phone is the new rage. One of the great sights of Washington these days is two stretch limousines side by side cruising down Pennsylvania Avenue,

each with TV aerials, a bar and darkened windows as the motor cannot detect which assistant deputy secretary is within, the two drivers talking to one another as to their next destination—or their girlfriends. Now, as the frightening Air Canada ads for their new executive class implies, we have the final hilar telephone on high.

One of the few reasons I put up with the rat-race warrens of stifling terminals and the toy models is for peace with No telephones, no car bugging you. If Air Canada and the rest of them now make it possible for an officer to find me, this one is going back to dog tennis and the Greyhound bus.

It's the same old myth that technological advances necessarily mean progress. We now have in our office a new phone system that properly should be run by Houston. Control and routing are new and a big thing my employers could better have devoted to get I run fast-forward incoming calls so whenever I might be the reason you leave the office is in orange only. I can phone from anywhere and a woman disguised as a machine for a machine disguised as a woman, it is hard to tell. I can tell me all my messages, which I can then Discard or Keep, leaving private my office-mate's messages, while listening in to all of them and wondering why the boss doesn't love me anymore. This is progress? Do I have to listen to someone's instructions to pick up a dozen eggs and a pound of butter? See. This is progress.

I can push buttons that keep two impatient and angry people as held while I talk to a third. I can push buttons that automatically rebid someone whose phone is busy. I can progress into this semi-automatic buttons that will call friends, the butcher, the answering service at home that is answered by a machine/woman etc. I can do everything but play the telephone on the thing and probably could if I read the manual—except that I'm too worried about telephones invading airplanes.

Chad, Upper Volta, if I were you, I'd think the whole thing over. Nothing good has ever come of it, regardless of what Mr. Delorme says. Trust me.



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By duMAURIER

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